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Indiscriminate Use Of Terrorists And Disruptive Activities Act

By Our Special Correspondent

The arrest of five Sikhs, including two senior college teachers in Bombay for their suspected links with terrorists in Punjab, has sent shock waves among the Sikhs in the city. Civil rights activists, who are extremely agitated over the arrest of two professors, have issued a statement that the government, if at all it has a case against Prof. Dalip Singh, Prof. Jagmohan Singh and Mr Paramjit Singh, should seek to substantiate its case by taking recourse to the ordinary laws of the land. The use of the Terrorists and Disruptive Activities Act to arrest the professors, they say, exemplifies the case with which human rights are being trampled upon.

In Bihar where what was initially

made out to be a major success story when the Bihar police claimed to have arrested Amarjit Singh Sodhi as a terrorist with Canadian links is slowly turning into a major embarrassment for the police.

In both the cases the persons arrested are human rights activists. Amarjit Singh Sodhi is a member of the Party Unity Group of the CPI (M-L). The Group claimed in a statement that Amarjit Singh had been a "front-ranking fighter, both in Canada and Punjab against Khalistan ideology and religious fundamentalism".

Meanwhile, the Bihar unit of PUCL has described the police claim of arresting Amarjit Singh a terrorist as "irresponsible showmanship". The deliberate attempt of the DGP to brand Mr. Sodhi as a Khalistani was meant to mislead

the people. The PUCL, in a statement, said Mr Gursharan Singh, leader of the Inquilabi Kendra, an organisation known for its anti-Khalistan stand and activities, has stated that Mr. Sodhi was a member of his organisation too.

The PUCL has said such irresponsible acts by police against innocent Sikhs may make the Sikh community feel that they cannot live in this country with security and honour.

In Bombay the arrests of five persons have already caused fear because every Sikh there feels that he could be arrested and taken to Punjab if someone in Punjab named him as an ally of terrorists. It is so because the arrests were not based on dossiers of the Bombay police. The Punjab Police wanted them and it is reported that the basis was

beans-spilled by a top-grade Khalistani terrorist, Atinderpal Singh, a Bhopal journalist, who, it is alleged, had joined the Punjab terrorists.

Interestingly, the Bombay police had not discovered anything "objectionable" against the two teachers, inspite of their long and uninterrupted stay there.

Added to all this the recently reported public statement by K.P.S. Gill, the Director General of Punjab Police, that only one person could be convicted till date (though in the last three years about 10,000 persons were arrested as terrorists in Punjab under the various special laws specifically enacted for combating terrorism) exposes the extent of the harassment metted out to innocent persons and attempts to intimidate the people.

Make States Powerful For A Strong Union

By Our Special Correspondent

Participating in a discussion on Sarkaria Commission Reported in the Rajya Sabha on 28 November, Lt. Gen. J.S. Aurora pleaded for homogenous Centre-State relations for the progress of the country.

As far as the Sarkaria Commission's report is concerned, he said, it is a disappointment to majority of the States and particularly to the people of Punjab. The main recommendation of the Commission is mainly cosmetic and has not touched the main issue of making the Constitution or the government of this country really federal. In fact, it has accepted that it can remain unitary although it has been dressed up in the garb of federalism with a strong Centre.

Centralisation

The Commission's report in its introduction, however, says that over the period of 37 years the Union has occupied most of the Concurrent field leaving little for the States and by indiscriminately making declaration in the public interest or national importance, more and more powers have been taken over by the Centre. Now, this pervasive trend towards greater centralisation and of power over the years has really created total unhappiness between the States and the Centre, particularly those States which are being governed by political parties other than the Congress (I). This has not only led to a certain amount of confrontation but it has naturally led to a

great deal of dissatisfaction and inefficiency because of over-centralisation. "I think, we must realise that India is a multi-national society and there are so many units in it which have their distinct identity in language, culture and religion," he said.

Gen. Aurora pointed out that whereas to begin with "we accepted the federal concept, but after the creation of Pakistan, we felt so threatened or you can say, the Pakistan Syndrome created an idea that there may be federalism, but it must have a strong Centre. But the unfortunate part is that strong Centre has now become an authoritative Centre where the Centre feels that they are the authority to override the sentiments, plans, projections and the

concept of the State Government. I would like to mention here that Dr. Ambedkar, who is the father of this Constitution, said, "the basic principle of federalism is that the legislative and executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States not by law to be made by the Centre but by the Constitution itself." I feel this is one thing that the Centre has not respected. He went on to say, "this is the principle embodied in our Constitution. There can be no mistake about it." Unfortunately, the Centre has not taken much note of it or forgotten what Ambedkar stressed very strongly.

Basis For India's Unity

The greater autonomy for the States rests not on the so-

Continued on page 10

LETTERS

Rule Of Dynasties

One of the popular chants at Pakistan People's Party rallies was: "The sun is rising—Benazir." Now the sun has risen, and Benazir Bhutto, at 35, seems set to become the first woman head of government in the Islamic world.

But she is not, even more importantly, the first woman to climb the political peaks of South Asia. Ms Bhutto is part of a recent but solid trend in the subcontinent, in which dynasties are a good deal more important than gender.

The first woman to form a government anywhere in the world was Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who inherited the Sri Lanka Freedom Party on the assassination of her husband in 1960.

She is still fighting for power as a candidate in the current presidential elections, and in the natural order of things is likely to be succeeded by her son, Anura.

In Islamic Bangladesh, the daughter and widow of past leaders, Sheikh Hasina and Begum Zia, are the leading opponents of General Ershad.

And in India, the prime example of dynastic feminism, Indira Gandhi effortlessly seized control of the Congress Party after the death of her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, and was succeeded in tragic turn by her son, Rajiv. In Pakistan itself, politics as a family business had already been firmly established by the Bhuttos.

ACM Nazer

508 Bhai Parmanand Colony
Delhi 110 009

Regional Superpower

This has reference to your article 'Lessons for Maldives And Importance Of India' by Dr Parmanand. Though the author has failed in coming out with concrete and novel ideas, the article has thrown light over the importance of India in the region.

India has definitely grown into a regional superpower. No problem of international importance in the region can be solved without her wholehearted support. Henry Kissinger has described India as an emerging regional power and more recently, Mr. Andrai Igorovich Feolkovski, the head of the South Asian Department in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, echoed his view when he called upon India to take more "forceful steps" in promoting peace and stability in Asia.

A few analysts have speculated that some of the Indian Ocean islands could be attractive and vulnerable for takeover by drug cartels. Being a tourist resort, with a small police or military force, located adequately far from external help and having a banking system suitable for laundering funds, Maldives would indeed draw drug runners and those looking for tax havens. However, there is a more plausible view which by itself or in combination with the drug link may be relevant. The British controlled the Indian Ocean, some even called it a British lake, not by having a large naval presence in the region but by controlling choke points to it—Malacca, Good Hope, Suez and Australia. Is it therefore surprising that there have been coup attempts at similar strategic locations—Mauritius, Seychelles, Fiji and now Maldives?

As against this, it is easy to understand why Indian help had been sought in the past by Indian Ocean governments. India has an excellent record of going to the aid of beleaguered nations and then withdrawing without demanding any benefit. It is also a functioning democracy and a leader in the non-aligned movement. It has never been like a United States in Grenada. Considering the fragility of the vulnerable states in the

Indian Ocean region, we could again be called upon for help as only this country has some reach and capability.

V.S. Radhakrishna Pillai
B 87 Tagore Garden Extn.
New Delhi 110 027

Laudable Step

I am glad to congratulate you on the laudable steps your magazine is taking to widen the horizon of the human knowledge by publishing book reviews, articles on sports, etc. I read the review on *Sexual Equality* (FORUM BAZETTE, 26 NOV-41 DEC) which was quite lucid and informative, too, but I regret to inform you that the title of the book is incorrect.

The word 'sexual' in the phrase 'Sexual Equality' is an adjective, therefore, it changes the meaning of the phrase. For sexual-equality means equal participation in the sexual act and not gender equality. 'Sex Equality' or 'Equality of Sex' would have been a better choice.

Moreover, the author seems to be confused between equality and uniformity. As there is more stress on uniformity of sexes rather than equality.

Although harmony in gender relations can cure the society of many social evils, it is necessary that this idea is embedded in the minds of the children at a very young age. So that their behaviour becomes not prejudiced but rational

Dr. Rajinder Singh

New Delhi

CORRECTION

In the Centrespread article on Guru Nanak written by Dr Amrik Singh (THE FORUM GAZETTE, 20 Nov — 4 Dec 1988), the title should read: 'The Vision Of Guru Nanak'.

Sound And Fury

Let us see how far they (newspapers) go. Later we will decide what to do.

- Mr Saroj Mukherjee.

I take no notice of it (newspaper reports).

- Mr Jyoti Basu.

It will be a very bitter pill if the Head of State or Government has to be a lady.

- Mr Agha Murtaza Pooya, information secretary of Pakistan's Islamic Democratic Alliance.

I believe we will see the dawn of democracy.

- Mrs Benazir Bhutto.

You believe in democracy, I don't.

- Mr Bal Thackeray.

The only way to stop riots in India is to declare India a Hindu State. Then the Muslims will learn to behave themselves.

- Professor Bal Raj Madhok.

Every child in Kashmir is anti-India.

- Imam Syed Abdullah Bukhari.

I concede that my style of functioning is different because this style does not recognize any caste in the State—whether Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs, etc. My style recognizes only two castes: the good and the bad.

- Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad.

I have asked my partymen to take up guns for their survival but not for violence.

- Mr A.B.A. Ghani Khan Choudhury.

I am just like the sunset—I am no longer capable.

- Mr Deng Xiaoping.

Without NATO there will be no perestroika.

—Mr Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary-general.

It is my secret. I did buy a sari here during my last visit, and my daughter was an Indian at New Year's party.

—Mrs Raisa Gorbachova.

A visit by the Queen would be a marvellous encouragement to the Russian people.

—Mr Peter Temple-Morris, British Conservative M.P.

I think the Queen would love to go to the Soviet Union.

—Lord St John of Fawsley, former British Cabinet Minister and friend of the royal family.

It seems to be all right for Mrs Thatcher to make royal visits to the Soviet Union...but somehow it is wrong for the Queen to do the same thing. It would be one in the eye for Queen Margaret.

—Mr George Robertson, Labour spokesman on foreign affairs.

She (Mrs Thatcher) is the mistress of monologue, not real dialogue.

—Mr Neil Kinnock.

The Indian troops will be sent back only when they are defeated by a future patriotic peoples' army of the Janata Vimukthi Perramuna.

—Mr Rohanna Wijeweeera.

Managing Editor
Amrik Singh

Editors
A.S. Narang
Gian Singh Sandu

Assistant Editor
KH Nazeer (Bajju)

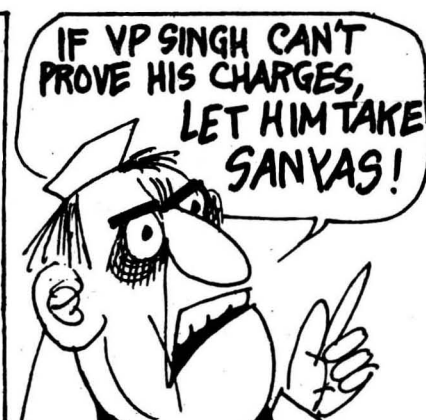
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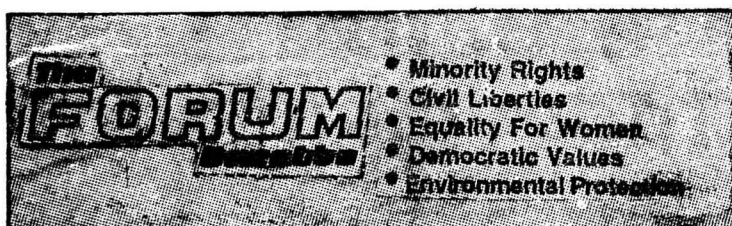
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Ekta Trust
2/26, Sarva Priya Vihar
New Delhi-110016.
Ph. 680738

Editorial, Business
and Circulation Offices,
3, Masjid Road, Jangpura
New Delhi-110014.
Ph. 619284

NEWSHOUND



By Rap



The SGPC Muddle

Instead of being what it was visualised to be, the SGPC has become a disgrace to the Sikh community. This is said more in sorrow than in anger though, to be sure, it is difficult to say where one state of mind begins and the other ends.

The most obvious thing that can be said about the SGPC is that it does not enjoy the prestige which it should enjoy. People are appointed to and removed from various offices in a manner which suggests that it is a political outfit rather than a religious organisation. It should not be necessary to give details. What has been happening over the years is known to everybody and does not require any elaboration.

While in any gathering of men and women, some kind of politicking is perhaps unavoidable, the depths to which things have descended over the last few years are unbelievable. The only explanation that one can give for what is happening and which might continue to happen for some time is that the ideals of good and honest management have been forgotten. What we witness today is not good management, but a way of furthering one's interest and that of one's faction or group or party.

As if this was not bad enough, the Government does whatever it can, to impede its working and to fish in troubled waters. Once again it should not be necessary to adduce any evidence. The very fact that a decision with regard to the legality of the election conducted over a year ago could not be taken and even a new election became due only goes to show that something is wrong somewhere. Not only that, people are detained, released and re-detained and what no in order to influence the voting behaviour of those who are its members. Here also details are superfluous. Anyone who knows what is happening in Punjab can bear testimony to the unseemly manipulations that go on behind the scene.

Whether it is Delhi or Punjab, the government in office wants to ensure that no one acts independently and whatever decisions are taken are taken which suit its political strategy. In regard to Delhi's gurdwaras, so far the Centre is completely successful. In regard to the SGPC it is only partially successful but that is not for want of trying but because it is so much more difficult to manipulate on such a large scale.

The root of the problems lies in this that the electoral process has been consistently frustrated. The SGPC elections were held a decade ago. Even when they were held at that time, as many as 14 years had gone by since the earliest election had taken place. In other words, during the last quarter century the SGPC has had only two elections whereas as many as five of them should have been held.

It is a measure of the apathy of the Sikhs that they continue to put up with this situation. Were elections to the SGPC to be held now, it is claimed by some, it would be a referendum on Khalistan. The truth of the matter is that it would be a vote against the present Akali leadership and not in favour of Khalistan. Those who bring in the ghost of Khalistan do so because this is the easiest way to frighten everybody else. The existing leadership deserves to be thrown out. Why they oppose a fresh election is because the existing set-up suits them. Even if it bothers them sometime, and they have to make all kinds of compromises, it is this kind of politics that they know how to play and are comfortable with.

If a new election is held and the terrorists come to power, as is alleged, they would be operating in the open rather than in the dark as at present. How would that be a worse situation than what obtains today? The fact of the matter is that every one including those who run the show today, has been sullied with corruption and much worse. They deserve to be replaced by a new set of people. Some of them may not be acceptable to those in the establishment or the powers that be. But that is no reason why a change should be opposed. As a matter of fact, it is change precisely that is the need of the hour. Not only will a new set of people change the ethos and working of the SGPC, it will also lead to a change in Akali politics.

This will not bring about change in the full sense of the word. The Centre's role is equally crucial but that change, if one may say so, is on the cards and one of these days one can look forward to a new set of rulers in the near future. Corresponding to it there should also be a change in those who run the Sikh affairs. Their base of operations is the SGPC and that is where the change ought to begin.

In God we trust, all others must pay cash.

American Saying

On A Collusion Course

By K.S. Khosla

The Punjab government and Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee are again on a collusion course despite the Punjab and Haryana High Court's order staying the annual election of the executive committee of SGPC four days before the election was due to be held. Both the SGPC secretary, Mr Manjit Singh Calcutta and the Akali Dal (T) president, Mr. Jagdev Singh Talwandi, announced the other day that they would violate the court order and hold a meeting of the general house of SGPC on November 30 to elect a new executive committee. It seems the leaders are having second thoughts because a day later Mr. Calcutta announced that a meeting of the general house would be held as scheduled but was evasive about whether the house would elect an executive committee.

The High Court judgement has accelerated instead of impeding the process of unity among the Akali Dals, though the situation remains far from clear. Mr. Talwandi came to Chandigarh on Monday (November 28) and met several Akali leaders including Capt. Amrinder Singh and Mr. Balwant Singh. Capt. Amrinder Singh told newsmen that the Akali Dal (T) and the Akali Dal (Mann) had decided to unite. He said that he had met Mr. Mann in jail in Bha-
galpur (Mr. Mann is a brother-in-

law of Capt. Amrinder Singh) and he had told him that he was willing to step down from the presidency of the party for the sake of unity. Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala has announced that his party would not attend the general house meeting on November 30 as it would be illegal in view of the High Court's order and it would provide an opportunity to the government to interfere in the religious affairs of the Sikhs. Reports are that some members of the Akali Dal (L) have decided to revolt against Mr. Barnala's directive and attend the meeting on November 30. The situation is yet uncertain and fluid but if the unity among the Akali Dals takes place, it will nullify the gains of the High Court orders as far as the government is concerned. A single and united Akali Dal can tell the government and the High Court that they have united and will hold a meeting to select a new executive committee. If the Akalis elect only one set of office-bearers, the government can have no objection to it under the Sikh Gurdwara Act and will have to notify the election result. But that is a distant reality. Meanwhile, it will be useful to study the impact of the High Court judgement.

The question is whether the government will prevent SGPC from holding the annual general

meeting to elect an executive committee in view of the court's order. The government has not made known its mind. There is much validity in the court's order even if it comes 13 months after the election was held on October 16 last year. According to the Gurdwara Act, the election of the executive committee is to be held each year before November 30 and if it is not held, the old committee continues to be in office. Last year because of Akali factionalism, two sets of office-bearers were elected: One by the Barnala group which was attended by 61 members, and the other, by the Tohra-Badal group which was attended by 65 members. A perusal of the two lists showed that names of 20 members were

Mr. Barnala has already been let down by the government which dismissed his ministry and has failed to implement the Rajiv-Longowal accord. Now his own men have let him down. The politicking by the government and the Akalis is making it sure that the fundamentalists win.

common in both the lists. There were also reports of violence and adoption of unfair means at the two meetings. The High Court has, therefore, appointed Mr. Justice Harbans Singh, former Chief Justice of the Punjab and Haryana High Court and presently president of the Sikh Gurdwara Tribunal, to hold an inquiry to find out whether the polling was fair and free to enable the court to judge the validity of the elections. While no one can dispute the legality of the judgement in view of the circumstances, it brings out the general attitude of the government towards SGPC.

Be that as it may, the question that remains to be seen is the impact of the High Court judgement. Who will manage the affairs of the gurdwara under the jurisdiction of SGPC now that the legality of the present executive committee is in doubt. Going strictly by law, the executive committee elected in 1986 should be the de jure committee but the de facto committee is the one elected in 1987 which is managing the gurdwaras and it is the one which owes allegiance to Tohra-Badal group. The

High Court while restraining SGPC from holding its annual election meeting has not debarred the present committee from functioning. The logical conclusion is that the committee headed by Tohra, who is in jail, will continue to function till Mr. Justice Harbans Singh submits his report.

Further, no time limit has been given to the commission to submit its report. It may give its report in four weeks or four months and till that time the present committee will continue to hold office as the High Court has not disturbed the status quo. It is a serious setback for the Barnala group as it had challenged the validity of the committee appointed by the other group. Another setback for Mr. Barnala is the decision of the High Court not to comment on the dismissal of Mr. Jasbir Singh Rode and other priests by the SGPC in May last which one of the petitioner had said was unlawful. The High Court observed that this question could be decided only after the legality of the committee appointed in 1987 was decided. This means that Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi continues to be the Akal Takht jathedar, who has directed Mr. Barnala to appear before the Akal Takht on December 5 in connection with an application for exoneration filed by Mr. Barnala. Mr. Barnala was excommunicated from the panth when he failed to obey the directive of the Akal Takht for dissolving his party and resigning from the presidency of the party. He is now faced with a dilemma: either he appears before the Akal Takht or disobey the directive. In both cases he will be in an unenviable position. Reports are that his party is too splintered over the issue as both Mr. Balwant Singh and Mr. Prem Singh Chandumajra are planning to make up with the Tohra-Badal group. It seems in the unity moves that are taking place in the wake of the High Court judgment, Mr. Barnala will be left in the cold. It will indeed be a pity as Mr. Barnala is a gentleman and believes in the Constitution of the country and its secular ideals. Mr. Barnala has already been let down by the government which dismissed his ministry and has failed to implement the Rajiv-Longowal accord. Now his own men have let him down. The politicking by the government and the Akalis is making it sure that the fundamentalists win.

In a way, they have already won. Whether the executive committee elected in 1986 or 1987 runs the gurdwara affairs, it makes no difference as most of the members of the two committees owe allegiance to Mr. Tohra. The situation in Punjab is back to square one.

By Randhir Chhatwal

Mr Justice S.A. Kader of the Madras High Court has directed the State of Tamil Nadu to pay compensation to the victims of the Coimbatore riots strictly as per the report of the Collector of Coimbatore dated 11.3.85 in the sum of Rs.33,19,033 as assessed and recommended by the him. The Hon'ble Judge further directed that the payment should be made within eight weeks from the date of the receipt of this order. This judgement was given on 31 October '88 on the writ petition, No.11994 of 1984 filed as Public Interest litigation on behalf of the victims by R.G. Gandhi and Mr S. Balathandapani of Indian Association of Lawyers (Tamil Nadu Chapter) and Mrs. Venkatesan and Mr V.M. Shiv Kumar, two students of B.L. III class of the Madras law College.

Appeal By Gurdwara Coimbatore

The Coimbatore Gurdwara made an appeal in the newspaper on 11 Nov '84 after the large scale anti-Sikh disturbances, as an aftermath of the unfortunate and dastardly assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi. In response to the appeal, Ms Geetha Ramaseshan, an advocate of High Court, and one of the Joint Secretary of the Indian Association of Lawyers (Tamil Nadu Chapter) visited Coimbatore on the 15th and 16th of Nov '84 and made on the spot inspection and enquiry and gave a report.

Report Of Ms Geeta Ramaseshan

According to Police records, there are about 39 Sikh families in Coimbatore. The Sikhs there are (barring a few) very prosperous. Most of them have their own shops, showrooms and godowns of various types. On 31 Oct 84 around 2.30 PM, according to Mr. Khem Singh, a prominent Sikh of Coimbatore, a mob came to a building called Taher Mansion, burnt a car and broke window panes. On 16 Nov 84 broken window panes were seen by Ms Geeta.

"On that day, according to eye-witnesses, after attacking the Taher Mansion, the mob went to M/s Popular Agencies and M/s Popular Electrical Traders in a truck. A word about these two shops: The two shops face the Railway track. Hence, the stones of the tracks were easily accessible to the mob. The mob first broke open the two show rooms (one even has a basement which had caved in when I visited) and after looting it of all the electrical goods, they set the building on fire. Mr. Khem Singh, along with another, jumped from roof-top to roof-top and escaped to safety. When I visited the bulding the stench of fire was still strong. There was nothing but rubble around. And the build-

ing itself was in total ruins. There was no trace of the residence of Mr. Khem Singh. I was informed that the fire raged for 3 days and the fire engine did not come at all. I was told that when the fire engine came, they found it difficult to operate due to the stone throwing indulged in by the mob. It appears that the police never appeared on the scene. The fire burned itself out while the neighbours fixed hoses connecting their water supply and tried to check the fire from spreading.

I also visited the Gurdwara at V.V.C. Layout. The Priest, Mr. Bhal Arjun Singh, resides here. His residential quarter has been gutted. Some damage has also been caused to the place where the Granth Sahib is kept. And the steps (which looked like marble) leading to the Gurdwara were all broken and the Gurdwara itself was damaged. I was informed that the mob made a bonfire of the Granth Sahib in the middle of the road. According to the Sikhs, all the vessels which are generally kept in the Gurdwara for the traditional "langaur" were looted.

It was felt by a lot of people that timely action by the authorities would have gone a long way in checking the looting and arson that engulfed the city. It was also felt that the police had not acted as fast as they should have. At many instances the police did not resort to even a mild lathi charge. It was felt by a few people whom I met that if this had been done, or even if shots were fired in the air or if teargas shells were used, the mobs would have dispersed."

Petition

The members of the Sikh community, in particular, have suffered privations of a horrendous character for no fault of them. There have been violation of several essential provisions of the constitution which envisages a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and assures to its citizens—justice, social, economic and political. It is the bounden duty of the state in the interest of secularism to come to the speeding aid of the affected persons and rehabilitate them in a substantial measure. This is the only guarantee of maintenance of secularism, which is the sheet anchor for the protection and preservation of the unity and integrity of the country.

Coimbatore Victims Of November'84

High Court Judgement On Payment Of Compensation

The petitioner prayed for issue of a writ of mandamus or any other appropriate writ, order, or direction for appointing a panel of commissioners to submit concrete proposal for rehabilitation of members of the Sikh community and other affected persons at Coimbatore.

Collector's Recommendations

On instructions from State government, Collector of Coimbatore conducted an enquiry into the loss and damage suffered by the individuals in these violent incidents. He submitted the report on 11.3.1985. The learned government pleader of Tamil Nadu produced the report before the court. It contains a tabular statement with complete details of the building, name of the occupier, etc. and estimated value of damages

to the building as assessed by PWD, the particulars of the other damages as assessed by the Revenue Divisional Officer, the loss estimated by the police, loss as per the report of the Fire Officer, the loss claimed by the affected parties and finally the Collector's remarks wherein he fixed the compensation. He made clear recommendations for payment of compensation in each individual case. The total amount of compensation as recommended by the collector comes to Rs.33,19,033.

Union Of India's Response

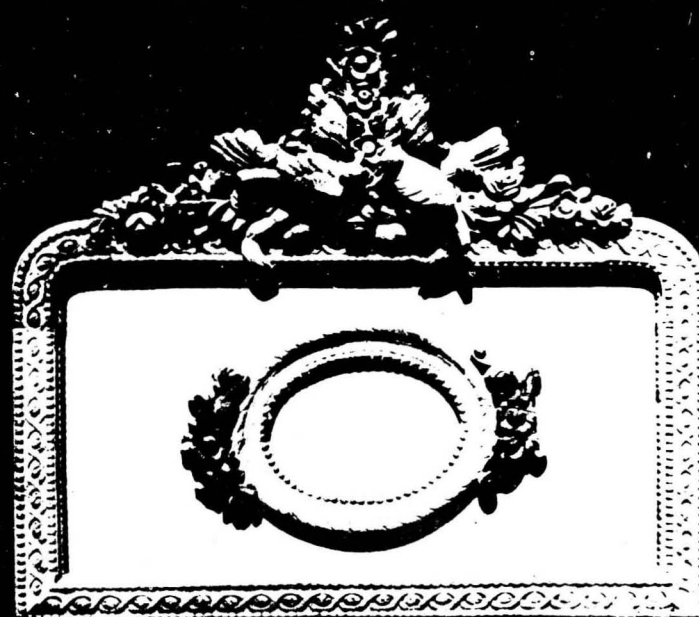
The Union Government cited as first respondent, did not file any counter affidavit, but the counsel furnished a communication issued by the Government of India to the State Government on

14.3.85 regarding payment of compensation to the victims. Union Government also issued a letter on 1.3.85 to Tamil Nadu Government to provide immediate suitable relief to the riot victims, this action of Union Government was commended by the court.

State Government's Counter Affidavit

Deputy Secretary, Law and Order of Tamil Nadu Government, filed a counter affidavit on 26.2.88, News of assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi was spread in Coimbatore around 11.15 AM, though there was no announcement by the Radio or the Press. Collector of Coimbatore immediately convened a meeting with S.P., District Revenue Officer,

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Anatomy Of Shiv Sena's Growth

By Asghar Ali Engineer

The Shiv Sena is very much in the news these days... Bal Thackeray is dreaming of becoming the Chief Minister of Maharashtra....

The Shiv Sena, right from its birth in the late sixties, has enjoyed the support of the ruling Congress. Its very birth, it is alleged, was patronised by S.K. Patil, the then Congress boss from Bombay along with a noted non-Maharashtrian industrialist... to fight 'the communist menace' and to break the back of the trade unions run by them... in the mid-sixties India was facing acute industrial recession...

This resulted in a sharp rise of militancy in the working class movement... It was thought by the Congress boss and his industrialist friends to organise a section of the Bombay underworld under the hegemony of Bal Thackeray who would exploit the regional feelings of discrimination... Due to industrial recession a large number of Marathi youth was finding it very difficult to get employment. Naturally, therefore, the Sena Chief's tirade against *loongiwalas* (a typical South Indian male apparel) developed great appeal for the Marathi youth...

Though, the Sena began as a regional chauvinistic organisation, it had, right from its inception, a strong Hindu communal character as well. However, in its first phase, communalism seemed to have been subsumed under regional chauvinism. However, it tended to emerge as a communal body at the slightest opportunity.

...The Sena showed its communal fangs in the Kausa riots in 1970 (Kausa is a town some 40 miles from Bombay which has a substantial Muslim population). Also, it participated quite actively in the Bhiwandi riots of 1971...

...Soon the Sena developed electoral ambitions and began to draw the middle class cadres as well. Funds were never a serious problem for the Sena. It got money not only from the underworld and industrialists but also through bullying and extortions. Thus in 1973 Bombay Municipal Corporation elections it fully exploited the Vande Mataram controversy (the Muslims objected to the singing of Vande Mataram in municipal schools) to capture a sizeable number of seats. It even succeeded, in collusion with the Muslim League councillors, to get a Sena mayor elected (this was repeated again in April 1988 when the four Muslim League councillors voted for the Sena candidate for mayoralty).

...Thus the Sena assumed what can be called middle class respectability...

...During and after the Emergency the Sena was feeling isolated. Some papers even wrote that it is a spent force. Even the ruling Congress was no longer wooing it. Thackeray was feeling completely alienated. But two developments once again gave him the necessary boost. First, the emergence of Hindu fundamentalism and militancy in the post-Minakshipuram phase... Secondly, the ruling Congress under the leadership of Vasantdada Patil, an astute politician, again needed the help of the Sena in his fight against the dissidents...

The extensive Bombay-Bhiwandi riots of May 1984... were engineered by the Shiv Sena. In fact the Sena commanded all its anti-social elements to participate in these riots which soon spread to the entire Bombay-Bhiwandi region which is the most industrialised one... They proved a turning point for the Sena and were engineered with an eye

propaganda full blast. Needless to say it paid rich dividends to the Sena...

Thereafter Bal Thackeray's ambitions began to soar. He wanted to penetrate into other parts of Maharashtra. The Corporation also became a rich source of income and the party could easily afford to finance its activities outside the city of Bombay. Also with acquisition of power the Sena began to attract a large number of educated people which had earlier shunned it because of its anti-social character. But still one problem remained; how to establish a political base outside Bombay where other parties were quite well entrenched? Also, outside Bombay, there was no feeling of 'outside threat' as there were no 'Madrasis' (South Indians) threatening the job prospects of the Maharashtrians in the interior of Maharashtra.

Thus regional chauvinism was replaced by communal chauvinism

Maharashtra like Jalgaon... etc. Wherever some Muslim presence was there.

...Some other factors, too... helped the Sena to gain easy entry in Maharashtra beyond Bombay. There is rampant unemployment and a great deal of discontent among the youth. The other political parties are not willing to provide these youth with any action oriented opportunity...

The Sena, on the other hand, attracts the youth with militant Hindu slogans and provides the youth with an opportunity not only to act but also to lead. Moreover, militant Hindu slogans have great attraction for the middle caste youth as the Marathi newspapers encourage propaganda to the effect that the minorities are getting aggressive and the Hindus are under siege... The whole skyline of the Marathwada villages and cities is dotted with the saffron flag of the Sena.

...The Sena won Bombay

resented by the Dalits.

The Shiv Sena... took out a morcha joined by more than a lakh of Shiv Sainiks from all over Maharashtra to protest against the Riddles. It also gave front page advertisements urging upon the 'pure blooded Hindus' to join the morcha... couched in the most viciously communal language and signed by the Sena Pramukh Bal Thackeray...

It is surprising that the major national dailies so prominently carried such a blatantly communal advertisement that smacked of Nazi propaganda...

...The Dalits... took it as a challenge and tried to outdo the Sena in planning a counter-demonstration in support of the Riddles in Hinduism. All the factions of the Dalits united under the leadership of Prakash Ambedkar and staged a huge demonstration mobilising almost half a million Dalits. It was quite an impressive mobilisation indeed. Bal Thackeray was highly embarrassed. He had no option but to accept a compromise formula...

Bal Thackeray now had to look for another cause to refurbish his image as the 'protector of Hinduism'. He accused the Sikhs in Bombay city of financing the terrorists in Punjab and gave a call for their economic boycott in the month of March...

His call... boomeranged. He was strongly criticised by one and all. The Sikh priests in Punjab did not take him seriously... Three hundred newsmen from the city also strongly condemned this move.

It did prove acutely embarrassing to him... and subsequently he withdrew the call...

But what is most shocking is that the government of Maharashtra remained a silent spectator to all this. S.B. Chavan the then Chief Minister, only held out empty threats to arrest Thackeray but could not dare to do so. His helplessness was quite pathetic. It was obvious that the Sena supremo was calling the shots. Chavan could not go beyond filing a case against the Sena chief in the last week of March, 1988, as per his announcement on the floor of the Assembly on March 29...

The Sena which swears by Hinduism did not hesitate to take the help of the Muslim League in getting its candidate elected in the mayoral election of Bombay Municipal Corporation for 1988... In fact a communalist supports another communalist without any reluctance. After all, their ends meet. Both want to exploit religion and religious sentiments for political purposes.

Courtesy: Mainstream

The Shiv Sena which swears by Hinduism did not hesitate to take the help of the Muslim League in getting its candidate elected in the mayoral election of Bombay Municipal Corporation for 1988. In fact a communalist supports another communalist without any reluctance.

on the then coming municipal elections in Bombay. The Sena was allowed to freely indulge in communal violence by the Maharashtra Government. Vasantdada Patil, the then Chief Minister, was facing dissidents in his own party and needed Bal Thackeray's help in getting his candidate elected for the Rajya Sabha elections which were due then... It was at that time that the deal was struck and the Sena engineered communal riots to increase its Hindu appeal. This was not in vain. Subsequently, it did capture the Bombay Municipal Corporation...

Dada still needed Bal Thackeray's support to teach the Congress dissidents a lesson. He did not want them to win in the Bombay Municipal Corporation elections. Instead he wanted the Sena (which was by now his informal political ally) to emerge on the scene. To enable the Sena to win, Chief Minister Patil made a statement on the floor of the Assembly dropping a 'hint' that the Central Government is likely to take over Bombay which he subsequently denied having said.

...The Sena's propaganda machinery immediately started working full steam. Thackeray roared that he would never allow it to happen. No Maharashtrian would tolerate it. The Marathi papers in particular carried this

to gain political foothold in those areas. The Hindu card really proved to be the 'trump card' for the Sena. The developments in Punjab and the Shah Bano and Babari Masjid agitations, etc. had produced a great deal of resentment among the average middle and upper caste Hindus. The agitation by Dalits for their rights also created a lot of hostility among these Hindus. The Sena had also displayed anti-Dalit characteristics and incited anti-Dalit riots in Marathwada in 1983...

Thus the Sena used the militant Hindu idiom to gain entry into the interior of Maharashtra. It projected itself as the sole champion of the Hindu cause. As there were already such champions like the RSS, it had to be one up and adopt an increasingly militant tone.

Wherever it wanted to enter and establish a foothold, it incited communal riots. Thus a series of riots took place in Panvel, Nasik, Aurangabad, Nanded, etc. in May, 1986. Again the Sena opened its account in Amravati with a riot in November 1986. In all these places the Sena established its branches. In places like Panvel it had even to clash with the already existing Hindu communal organisations like the BJP in order to project itself as a better champion of the Hindu caste. Subsequently, riots took place in other places in

Municipal Corporation elections held in April, 1988. It won 27 seats whereas the Congress-I could win only 18 out of 60 seats in its own stronghold. This victory further boosted the Sena's morale...

It is surprising that the Sena won the Aurangabad Municipal Corporation elections despite the fact that there is a sizeable population of Dalits and Muslims in the town. There is one obvious reason for that. The Dalits and the Minorities have lost confidence in the ruling party... Thus Muslim votes were divided between the Muslim League and the Congress, the split favouring the Sena.

The Dalits have also been alienated from the Congress, Aurangabad is the educational centre of the Maharas... The Mahar votes went by and large to the Republican Party headed by Prakash Ambedkar, Babasaheb Ambedkar's son... Anti Dalit riots in Marathwada in 1983 ... were a traumatic experience for the Dalits.

During the recent controversy about Babasaheb Ambedkar's Riddles of Hinduism... Under pressure from the Maratha Mahasangh... the Maharashtra Government agreed to delete this portion... This was greatly

Amnesty International Report

Human Rights Violated, Denied

From Our Own Correspondent

Amnesty International was concerned about the detention of hundreds of political detainees held without charge or trial under special "anti-terrorist" legislation or preventive detention laws. The organization was concerned that these laws lacked legal safeguards required by international human rights standards and that they allowed people to be detained for non-violently expressing their opinions. There were allegations from most Indian states of ill-treatment and torture of detainees and some deaths allegedly died as a result. Amnesty International was concerned that some alleged supporters of armed opposition groups were deliberately killed in "encounters" staged by the police, and that landless peasants were extrajudicially killed by police. The organization was also concerned about several executions.

Acts of political violence were reported from various states, including the Punjab, West Bengal, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh. Armed groups in the Punjab demanding a separate Sikh state killed police, local officials and civilians. Reuters reported on 20 September that 480 political killings had taken place in the state between January and September. In West Bengal, supporters of the Gorkha National Liberation Front staged a violent campaign for a separate state, while in Andhra Pradesh some left-wing political groups advocating social and economic reform adopted violent methods.

Politically motivated arrests were reported from many Indian states. A number of those arrested were held in preventive detention under the National Security Act (NSA) which permits detainees to be held without charge or trial for up to one year (in the Punjab, two years). These periods of detention could be renewed indefinitely. Others were arrested under the 1985 Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act. Amnesty International believed that the Act's provisions were so broad that people could be detained for non-violently expressing their political opinions. Among the several hundred people reportedly arrested under the Act during 1986 were several whom Amnesty International considered prisoners of conscience. On 12 August the editor of the fortnightly publication, *Dalit Voice*, was arrested for publishing an article which the government alleged was seditious. He was released one week later without having been charged. The editor and printer of an Urdu weekly, *Nai*

Duniya, were arrested under the Act on 5 November and detained for 15 days for publishing, a year earlier, an interview with an expatriate Sikh leader advocating a separate Sikh state. Another prisoner of conscience was a Sikkimese Buddhist and former leader of the Naya Sikkim Party, Captain Sonam Yogda, who was arrested on 6 January under the NSA for making a series of speeches, more than a year before his arrest, in which he allegedly criticized the incorporation of Sikkim into India and called on the Sikkimese to re-establish their lost rights. He was held without charge or trial and was reportedly suffering from recurring paralysis of the left side of the body.

In November Amnesty International wrote to the authorities about the continued detention, apparently under the NSA, of 379 Sikh detainees held in Jodhpur Jail, Rajasthan. They were among some 1,500 people arrested when the Indian army attacked and entered the Golden Temple, Amritsar, in June 1984. Amnesty International expressed concern that the detainees had apparently been held beyond the two-year legal maximum and that there could be some among them who had been arrested simply for having been present in the Golden Temple. Amnesty International also stated that if these detainees were tried under the Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Act, they might not be given a fair trial since the Act permitted procedures incompatible with Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which India is a party. The Act permitted special courts to try people on charges of "waging war": it was mandatory for special courts to sit in camera, courts could sit in jails and the identity of witnesses could be kept secret. The burden of proof was transferred from the prosecution to the defence, if the accused was in an area where firearms or explosives were used, or where the security forces were attacked or resisted. Appeals could be lodged only within 30 days of sentence. A special court was established in Jodhpur Jail which by August had, according to one report, started proceedings against these detainees, although no details had emerged by the end of 1986. All the detainees were reportedly charged with identical offences on the basis of cyclostyled "confessions" that they were members of the All India Sikh Students Federation or the *Dal Khalsa* (an outlawed Sikh organization). Sixty of the detainees in Jodhpur had been

The Amnesty International expressed concern that the detainees, taken into custody during the attack on Golden Temple by the army, had apparently been held beyond the two-year legal maximum and that there could be some among them who had been arrested simply for having been present in the Temple. It also stated that if these detainees were tried under the Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Act, they might not be given a fair trial since the Act permitted procedures incompatible with Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights, to which India is a party.

held in 1984 in Ladha Kothi Jail, Sangrur, Punjab, together with 30 others. An official commission established by the Punjab state government submitted a report in May which found evidence that the 90 detainees arrested at the Golden Temple in June 1984 had been tortured. The commission recommended compensation for the 90 detainees and disciplinary action against 22 police officers reportedly involved. Amnesty International was investigating the cases of the 379 Sikh detainees in Jodhpur, urging the government either to release them or to give them a fair trial under ordinary procedures of criminal law.

In December Amnesty International urged the release or fair trial without delay of Prakash Singh Badal, leader of the breakaway Akali Dal faction formed in May 1986, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, the newly elected President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), Temple Management Committee, and an estimated 200 members of the Akali Dal (Badal) faction and the All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF). They were arrested and held without charge or trial under the provisions of the NSA in early December after 22 bus passengers, mostly Hindus, were killed in Hoshiarpur on 30 November 1986, an incident for which the Khalistan Liberation Force (the armed wing of the AISSF) had claimed responsibility. Subsequently parts of Punjab were declared "disturbed areas" and the state governor asked the army to assist the police and paramilitary forces. The new Director General of Police of the Punjab, appointed in March 1986, announced new police and paramilitary operations aimed at the elimination or arrest of leaders and members of armed Sikh groups. Amnesty International received an increasing number of reports that some killings of Sikh activists in the state were the result of "fake encounters" staged by the police or paramilitary forces. According to these reports, the victims were deliberately killed, some after capture. Amnesty International was not able to investigate these reports but an official four-member committee, headed by a former judge, studied 35 "encounters" in the state and reported in February that almost all such cases in the Punjab were "fake encounters". On 25 June a magisterial inquiry found that the Border Security Force had been guilty of deliberate killings and recommended that charges of murder be brought against those responsible, but few inquiries into

alleged extrajudicial killings were held. Extrajudicial killings were also reported from other parts of India, including West Bengal.

Of particular concern were reports from the state of Bihar, where landless peasants increasingly opposed illegal land occupation or appropriation by local landowners. Left-wing political groups, some advocating peaceful change, as well as "Naxalites" (Maoist revolutionaries, some of whom resorted to violence), were also active in the state. Local landowners often employed criminals in private armies and operated in league with local police and politicians. One example of this was an incident in Arwal, Gaya district, where a dispute developed over a plot of government land which had been used by villagers but which was appropriated by a local landowner. In league with police and local authorities the landowner had peasant huts on the plot demolished. On 19 April police surrounded the Gandhi Library where a protest meeting organized by the left-wing group Mazdoor Kisan Sangharsh Samiti (MKSS) was attended by over 500 people. Police opened fire and killed 23 men, women and children. The police claimed they fired at MKSS workers trying to attack the nearby police station with lethal weapons, but local witnesses, journalists and representatives of civil liberties bodies found no evidence of this. The Gaya District magistrate, visiting the spot one hour later, reportedly described the police firing, "unwarranted, unorganized and uncontrolled". There were widespread demands for a judicial investigation and in August 25,000 people were reportedly arrested to prevent demonstrations before the state assembly. The Bihar Government did not order an independent investigation but asked a member of the Board of Revenue to carry out an official inquiry. On 6 October he was reported to have found that the firing was not "fully justified" and that the police had used "excessive force". The Supreme Court was reported to have ordered the state government to grant compensation to the victims. By the end of 1986 it had not been paid and no action was known to have been taken against those responsible.

Deaths in police custody allegedly as a result of torture or shooting continued to be reported from many Indian states including Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Union Territory of Delhi, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh

Continued on page 11



Be-na-ZIR: The sun has risen

After seven years of authoritarianism and four years of pseudo-democracy, Pakistan has once again gone back to of, by, and for the people. The last fortnight's election has not been fought on issues. It has centred on the ghosts of two men—General Zia and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. While the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) wanted to rid Pakistan of the General's legacy, the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) wanted to uphold it and prevent a return to what the IDA called the 'Bhutto despotism.'

The victory of the PPP has been an outright rejection of autocracy and the policy of 'Islamisation' of Pakistan. The people have rejected those who preached extreme chauvinism and religious fundamentalism. They have voted for a non-fundamentalist, secular government to power. The people, who have been starving for democracy for the last eleven years, who have been forced to be fundamentalists during all these years, still believe that there is no basic conflict between Islam and liberal democracy.

The Victory

The government-controlled newspapers led by the *Pakistan Times* unleashed a series of anti-democratic stories and tried its level best to mesmerize the voters' mind by showing photographs from the 1977 street clashes with police under the banner headlines like "Glimpses of Bhuttoism". The media has even gone to the extent of saying that the PPP campaign was financed and backed by India, US, Russia and Israel. But all these could do only little to Benazir's routing the old enemies, winning the election, and becoming the first woman prime minister of Pakistan, or for that matter, any Islamic nation.

The government's requirement that all the voters must have a

national ID card before they vote have considerably reduced Benazir's strength. The IDA supporters had no difficulty in getting cards. A very large proportion of Benazir's supporters were effectively disenfranchised by this decision, which made it illegal to vote without ID cards. This mainly affected women and rural poor from whom Benazir had to receive her largest support.

In a country starving for democracy there is usually a very high turnout when an election takes place. In 1970 over 90 percent of the electorate actually voted. In 1977 the figure was 80 per cent. But this time it was under 40 percent. This was largely because of the identity card issue.

Pakistan has peacefully and voluntarily held an election and given birth to a popular winner. Even the military, it seems, wants to start afresh. It is realised that dictatorship cannot work. Pakistan throughout its history, has become a symbol of the battle between freedom and autocracy.

Casualties

The election has produced more casualties than victors. The electorate has firmly rejected the legacy of Zia. Eight federal cabinet ministers lost their seats. The most important of them were former Prime Minister (Mr) Mohammed Khan Junejo, titular head of the IDA (Mr) Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and the Sind Kingmaker, the Pir of Pagaro.

It was Junejo's second political disaster of the year. He was abruptly sacked from the premiership by Zia in May and then removed from the Muslim League leadership in an internal coup. His version of the League, formed after the partyless elections of 1985, was then absorbed into the much bigger faction headed by Zia's chief ministers. And with the loss of party leadership, Mr Junejo never looked like the national

leader he desperately wanted to be again.

Mr Jatoi used to be one of the main power-broking barons of Sind province. In the martial law years, when the Bhutto family was exiled in Europe, he was the de facto leader of the Pakistan People's Party.

But after Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 1986, Mr Jatoi had a spectacular fall-out with her, and stormed off to form his own National People's Party and lobby for favours from Zia.

He was for a time considered a potential successor to Mr Junejo. But the death of the President heralded an abrupt end to the Jatoi era as well as the Zia one.

Five ministers or ex-ministers associated with the Zia regime lost their seats. One of the more notable was Ellahi Bux Soomro, who as head of the Information Ministry was no mean hand at self-publicity.

Relations With India

India has a duty, as well as an interest, in maintaining the momentum that Pakistan has

achieved now. We have to determine what we can do ourselves to stabilize the nationhood of Pakistan. Ms. Bhutto never took an anti-India stand. The Simla Agreement, according to her, is the corner-stone of India-Pakistan relations. India should not expect a major and sudden change in Pakistan's foreign policy. First we have to do our best to dilute the suspicion and distrust-bound atmosphere. The two countries can start it with the reactivation of the joint commission and its subcommissions when Rajiv Gandhi meets Benazir in Islamabad at the SAARC summit later this month.

Challenges



Beyond the victory lie challenges quite as mountainous as any she has faced in the last ten years. At stake, coolly considered, is the chance for her country at last to realise its economic potential; the chances, at last, to secure freedom in a land where the roots are shallow; and the chance, perhaps at the last, to prove that Pakistan is a real coun-

try with a clear identity.

In short order, she and her Pakistan People's Party inherit an economy gone to pot after a period of military rule that addressed nothing and solved nothing. Pakistanis run this and build thing with aplomb; they are one of the driving forces of the Middle East; but they have to leave home to succeed. The burden of military spending is crippling. The shadow of the generals—and of their superpower suppliers—is ever present. A stain of corruption, mired in drugs trafficking, runs through too much of the old establishment.

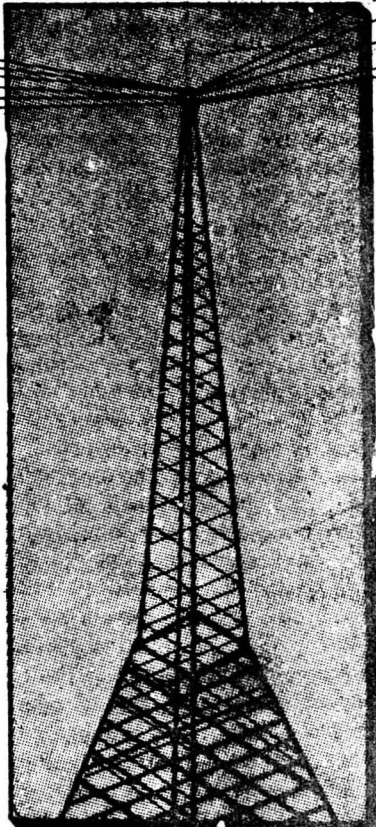
Even greater than these difficulties are the looming problems of governing a country with deep ethnic conflicts, a huge defence budget which for political reasons cannot be cut, a conflict of global significance in next-door Afghanistan, chronic unemployment and poverty, 75 percent illiteracy, and a population of 105 millions growing at 3.3 percent annually.

Benazir Bhutto has to confront all these problems. It will be terribly difficult.


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Responsibilities For Pas

By A.S. Narang

If Gandhi would not accept Pakistan, and Nehru hated it as fraud on the people, and the British Lord Mountbatten considered it suicidal and mad, and Ambedkar thought it was such a stupid idea that the Muslims would come running back to India in five years and Azad saw it as the ultimate betrayal and even Quat Ali Khan was willing to be persuaded out of going that far, then how and why did Pakistan happen? This is how M.J. Akbar passes the question in his recently published biography of Jawaharlal Nehru, *Nehru: The Making of India*.

The question has already been debated by historians, statesmen and political observers. There are different views with regard to the causes responsible for the partition of India in 1947. According to a number of European historians and statesmen including Strachey, Churchill and Amery, in India there was no unity as per European standards and India was divided because of 'deep rooted' difference between Hindus and Muslims. Some Indian observers like Dr B.R. Ambedkar also partly subscribe to this view and observe that it was because of social separatist policy of Hindus that Muslim League was able to get Pakistan. Indian Nationalist leaders and historians blame the British policy of "Divide and Rule" for this calamity. According to Muslim League spokesmen the Pakistan demand was based on the necessity of a new nation for consolidation of culture and ideology and it could not have been fulfilled by anything less than a sovereign state. According to some leftist writers communalism is the degenerated form of class struggle, accordingly emerging Muslim bourgeoisie and middle class exploited religion and culture for its vested interests and thus was created Pakistan.

With the publication of the complete version of the 1957 written Maulana Azad's autobiographical description, the issue has once again become alive. According to Azad, there is no doubt that Muslim League leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah was determined to get Pakistan and he was supported by British colonial rulers in his designs. Hindu communal forces also played an important role in this. But, according to Azad, Indian National Congress and its leadership, on the

basis of its ideology and strength could have avoided the division. However, because of various mistakes committed by the prominent Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru, Pakistan became a reality.

Maulana Azad is particularly sore over Nehru's mistakes. He considers Nehru to be a staunch secular, nationalist, scientific tempered, generous and his best friend. He was, however, very vain and could not stand that anybody else should have received greater support or admiration than him. Nehru also had a weakness for theoretical considerations and internationalism. All this made him commit certain mistakes which, according to Azad, proved very costly.

Needless to say, Azad's views have been considered his personal and subjective by a number of historians. Yet quite a number of Nehru supporters have come in his defence. Most important of

after 40 years of event. But it is important in terms of learning some lessons for present and future, particularly in view of the prevailing conditions and politics in the country. Therefore, irrespective of Azad's and Akbar's different viewpoints, events need consideration.

Azad's starting point in fixing responsibilities is that Jinnah had lost much of his political importance after he left the Congress in the twenties. It was largely due to Gandhiji's acts of omission and commission that Jinnah regained his importance in political life. When Muslims found that Gandhiji was continuously running after him and entreating him, many of them developed a new respect for Jinnah.

Azad particularly feels sore over the fact of influence of communal Hindus in Congress and particularly inability of secular and national leadership to deal with them. On the first part of this, M.J.

existence." Bhai Parmanand himself told his audience, "Hindustan is the land of Hindus alone, and Musalmans and Christians and other sections living in India are only our guests. They can live here as long as they wish to remain as our guests."

M.S. Golwalkar of RSS went to the extent of writing, "The non-Hindu peoples in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture—in a word they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in this country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment—not even citizens' rights."

Needless to say, some Muslims were not only happy to be called foreigners but had begun to talk of a separate land in the name of this separate identity. This rather exposed the contradictions in the position taken by the Hindu communalists. On the one hand, they condemned Muslims as foreigners; then when some Muslims went and behaved like foreigners, the Hindu communalists condemned them as traitors. Pakistan thus, according to Akbar, was a product of communalism, both Hindu and Muslim. Both papered over the cracks in their logic with the strident bugle-notes of a bogus super-patriotism.

Maulana Azad's sorrow, however, is on that at times Congress did not come out fully successful in test of nationalism. Azad particularly mentions cases of Bombay and Bihar after 1937 elections. In Bombay Mr Nariman, who was the acknowledged leader of the local Congress, was not made the Chief Minister because he was a Parsee. Patel and his colleagues could not reconcile themselves to such a position and felt that it would be unfair to the Hindu supporters of the Congress. When the matter was brought to Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Congress President, he sought to placate Patel and rejected Nariman's appeal.

In Bihar Dr Syed Mohammed was the top leader of the province when the elections were held. He was also a General Secretary of the AICC. But at the time of formation of Ministry he was not made Chief Minister, Dr Rajendra Prasad played the same role in Bihar as Sardar Patel did in Bombay.

M.J. Akbar does not comment



Abul Kalam Azad, Patel, around Gandhiji at a Working Committee meeting..... informality.

these is M.J. Akbar who in his biography of Nehru goes to suggest that Jawaharlal Nehru and in fact the whole Nehru family is infallible. Therefore, there is no question of committing any mistakes. On the basis of certain documents, writings and analysis of events he suggests that Nehru or the Congress leaders could not be held responsible for Pakistan. According to Akbar, the leaders of Muslim League spent years preparing the ground for secession, exploiting every situation in order to make an impossible idea possible. They had the support of the Raj. It was a collusion of interests.

Fixing of responsibilities on individuals or bodies and their defence may not mean anything

Akbar is also of this view. According to him by 1930 not only general atmosphere was communally and ideologically surcharged but Congress also was hardly immune from the influence of environment. People like B.S. Moonje, Bhai Parmanand, M.R. Jayakar, N.C. Kelkar, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who were most active and local Hindu Mahasabha leaders were also members of the Congress.

The Mahasabha made no secret of its intentions towards Muslims. At its Ajmer Session in 1933, presided over by Bhai Parmanand, it expressed "Urdu is a foreign language which is a living monument of our slavery. It must be eradicated from the page of

on these events. He also ever, mentions that while tributes to Muslims and Jinnah's charges after 1937 elections, Jawaharlal Nehru felt that sufficient number of candidates were not fielded at the time of the Round Table Conference in September 1931, there were Muslim Congress delegates. The British would allow Gandhi the right to reject Muslims, later admitted in that leaving Dr M.A. Ansari had been a total blunder, had no one else to blame but himself. Congress Muslims saw their bitterness stay with Gandhi. Ghaffar Khan, who marged his "Khudai Khidmat" into the Congress only the

Maulana Azad's another is that Nehru in his siveness took certain decisions which were wrong but he accept them so. In this context he mentions two particular

One was with regard to formation of Congress-League coalition ministry in UP after 1937. According to Azad, his negotiations with Chaudhary Khaliq-ur-Rahman had been quite suc-

It seems that learnt nothing to the partition petty power political unit leaders continue and communal centralis

On Of India

st And Lessons For Future



Muhammad Ali Jinnah

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and U.P. Muslim League would have merged with the Congress on the formation of coalition. He points that Chawdhari Khaliqzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan were then the leaders of the Muslim League in UP. The local position was such that neither of them could enter the government alone. But Jawaharlal had written to them that only one of them could be taken into the ministry. Both of them decided not to join. Azad suggests that if the League's offer of cooperation had been accepted, the Muslim League party would for all practical purposes merged with the Congress.

M.J. Akbar, however, gives a different picture. According to him League proposed a new clause in the agreement. In Khaliqzaman's own words in his autobiography (Pathway to Pakistan, 1961), the new provision "provided that the Muslim League party members in UP Assembly will be free to vote in accordance with their conscience on communal matters". According to Akbar the League had sabotaged the idea by its final communal demand, for the league had arrogated to itself exclusive rights on Muslim ques-

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of India. Even today, for
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tions, as if Congressmen could not be trusted on the matter. It was obviously impossible for any Congressmen to accept this condition; Nehru's objection's to the deal were ideological.

According to Maulana Azad, most vital mistake committed by Nehru was his press statement after Muslim Leagues acceptance of Cabinet Mission Plan which had rejected the Partition of India. Nehru, as Congress President, on 10 July 1946, with regard to Cabinet Mission said, "We agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly", he said, "We agreed to nothing else. True, we agreed to certain procedures for going into it. But we are absolutely free to act."

Patel and Azad were livid. Patel wrote to D.P. Mishra on 29 July 1946 that Nehru's emotional insanity had wrecked everything. According to Azad the Muslim League had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan only under duress. Naturally Jinnah was not very happy about it. Jawaharlal's statement came to him as a bombshell and he used it to reject the Cabinet Mission Plan. In spite of reaffirmation by Congress Working Committee, Jinnah argued that if Congress could change so many times, while the British were still in the country and power had not come to its hand, what assurance could the minorities have that once the British left, Congress would not again change and go back to the position taken up in Jawaharlal's statement?

According to M.J. Akbar, it is obvious that Jinnah was looking for some way to break the commitment to the Plan. If not this press conference, then something else would have cropped up; there were enough differences and suspicions between the Congress and the League to provide many an opportunity. Akbar quotes M.A.H. Ispahani to suggest that Jinnah began regretting having accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan within hours of doing so—long, long that is, before Nehru's press conference.

According to Akbar, Jinnah had made up his mind long ago and he was being supported by the British here in his designs. He points that on 4 September 1939 Jinnah while talking to Viceroy Linlithgow is reported to have said, "...the only solution lay is partition. His mind was made up. All his excuse and accusations and actions had but this purpose. The British knew what Jinnah wanted, and they knew what their needs were. They let the idea fester in the expanding communal swamp. Akbar also

refers to Khaliqzaman's autobiography where he exposes the British-League collusion.

To establish his point, Akbar also refers to the failure of Cripps Mission. In that case Gandhi remembered that the Cripps with a mission was a representative of an imperial power, not the radical of Labour politics. Also in his eve-of-departure broadcast Cripps made it a point to use the Muslims as a weapon against the Congress' demand for self rule. Therefore, according to Akbar, responsibility for partition lays with Jinnah and British and not to any fault or guilt on the part of Nehru or the other Congress leaders.

When Muslim league ultimately accepted to join the interim government, Patel, according to Azad, committed another grave mistake by sticking up not to give home portfolio to League's nominee. In turn Finance was given to him. League representative Liaquat Ali made full use of control over the Finance and made it difficult for

never agree to anything except Pakistan and that it was better to save what could be saved of India rather than gravitate towards civil war.

With regard to Nehru's acceptance of partition plan, Azad feels it largely because of the influences of Lord and Lady Mountbatten and Krishna Menon. As far as Maulana Azad is concerned he makes it clear that he not only disliked Krishna Menon but had almost a contempt for him. But Nehru was greatly under his influence. Azad believes that Mountbatten did use Krishna Menon to influence Jawaharlal's mind.

In addition was the influence of Lady Mountbatten. Though Azad does not indicate any special relationship between Lady Mountbatten and Nehru as mentioned at some places, he says that Lady was not only extremely intelligent but had an attractive and friendly temperament. She did use this to influence Nehru, Azad feels. Earlier also Azad had mentioned

because he was convinced of its inavoidability, deteriorating law and order, increase in communal violence and above all threat of India's Balkanization. Here Akbar brings to light a new fact that on the night of 10th May during his holidays at Shimla, Mountbatten showed Nehru in confidence his secret plan which was being considered by the British Cabinet.

According to this draft plan, in case of no agreement between various parties, English were to leave making the provinces, parties, English were to leave making the process, initially, successor states. That meant provinces were to be left free with regard to choice of remaining in India or otherwise. This was certain to Balkanize India and forced Nehru to think in terms of necessity of reaching some or the other agreement with Muslim League. And thus his acceptance of the plan to divide India.

Here one cannot understand why Mountbatten, who was considered to be a strong supporter of India's unity, formulated such a plan. Was it to pressurise Nehru or he was left with no other choice? Also at that stage why Nehru lost confidence both in the leadership and strength of Indian people.

Azad is of the view that since de facto power was with the Congress and only de jure power was with the British, the Congress should not have hastened for the de jure power. Waited for another two or three years it would have come without partition. Well, these are ifs and buts of history for which no definite answer can be provided. One thing, however, becomes clear that right from the turn of the century leadership failed to create a secular political unity among the people. This failure on the one hand provided an important tool to the colonial power in the shape of 'divide and rule' and on the other hand helped communal and secessionist forces to fulfil their designs.

It seems even today that we and our leadership has learnt nothing from the experience leading to partition. Even today for petty power politics, we are ignoring the importance of creation of a secular political unity among our people. Our leaders continue to mobilise voters on caste and communal basis on the one hand and centralise power on the other. Both of these were responsible for arousing suspicions among people and are so even today. But who bothers? Power, it seems, remains more important than unity or integrity of the country.



Charisma at work: Nehru at Madras Central. Satyamurti helps him up.

any Congress member to function effectively leading ultimately to frustration and acceptance of partition as the only solution.

Azad's greatest sorrow is with regard to acceptance of partition plan by leaders like Patel, Nehru and above all Gandhi. With regard to Patel he feels that he was convinced that he could not work with the Muslim League. He openly said that he was prepared to have a part of India if only she could get rid of the Muslim League. This is suggested by Akbar also. He quotes V.P. Menon to suggest whether it was in December 1946 or January 1947 that he convinced his favourite minister Patel that a united India was impossible, that Jinnah would

about the Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's (wife of Chinese President) attempts to influence Nehru for support in war-affairs in 1942.

M.J. Akbar writes in some detail about the talked of relationships of Nehru with women and suggests that Nehru's views with regard to man-woman relationship and even sex were quite liberal and westernized. He was attracted towards charming women and was friendly with some. But there is no proof of his intimate relations with many. In any case, Akbar is firmly of the view that these relations had nothing to do with Nehru's decision making. This he did quite objectively and considerably. In this connection Nehru accepted the Mountbatten plan for partition

Strengthen The States

Continued from page 7.

called traditional notion of federalism or strong Centre but essentially on the fact that this alone provides an enduring basis for India's unity and integrity, Lt. Gen. Aurora stressed. Even at the risk of repeating it, I would like to stress that without strong States, there cannot be a strong Centre and in any case, when the States were divided linguistically, that multi-community characteristic was accepted and that characteristic should be respected by the Centre at all times, he pointed.

Radio And T.V.

This is the question of radio and television. It is a great pity that the Sarkaria Commission has not recommended that these should be managed by one, or maybe two, autonomous corporations. When we consider that after 40 years of Independence, the people of India are not yet grown-up enough to have an independent radio and TV network and it has to be decided by the Central Government what they should and should not be told. The mistake lies with the Centre which either lacks confidence in its own people, which is bad, or feels that if the truth is known to the people the cat will be out of the bag, and the image it has managed to manipulate would disappear and the real face of the Government would be known. Well, it is a question of time. I think it will be known sooner or later. You cannot have different images for public and private and that you would not be able to safeguard it all the time, he hoped.

Financial Relations.

The next thing that the Sarkaria Commission has discussed at length is about the devolution of financial resources to the States.

Gen. Aurora said, "My own view is that more is required to be done. I cannot see any reason why the commercial banks and the financial institutions at the State level could not be State-owned. I know there are cooperative banks at the State level, but why, not commercial banks and even financial institutions? That can only come about if the Centre gives the States ability to have sufficient funds.

Except for basic defence industries and key industries which must be under Central control, the States must be given a much freer hand to be able to develop industrially in accordance with their own genius and in accordance with their own resources. The same thing I feel about water resources. It is necessary that States are permitted to manage their own water resources. If there are rivers which are inter-State, then the Union Government can adjudicate. But there again we see overcentralisation and there seems to be a tendency now, if I

have understood the latest move correctly, that the Centre wants to control it even further and not leave it to the States", he suggested. Similarly about electricity development within the State. I feel that if you shackle the State administration too much and they find that they have no real authority and they find that they cannot really go ahead if they want to, it leads to disinterest and low morale. In fact, if the States are given greater financial resources, are permitted to raise greater financial resources and are permitted freedom about industrialisation and other progress, there can be very healthy competition. The overcentralisation has led to very large offices and headquarters at the Centre and as result you find that the money that is being spent in manning these large offices and headquarters is going waste. It is taking too long a time and in spite of the institution of one-window system any project of any consequence, even by a private company or corporation, takes two to three years before all the formalities are completed. One other aspect to which I have very grave objection is the power of Parliament to provide for establishment of additional courts for better administration and for special laws, especially after Operation Bluestar. This, to my mind, has been an extremely counter-productive step that has been taken.

Special Courts

Special Courts have hardly worked and the other special black laws that have been passed have only given an opportunity to those elements in the administration which are dishonest and believe in undue suppression to cause more alienation and more bitterness among the general public.

"I would very strongly urge that there should be fuller autonomy, legislative autonomy, for the States. It is most important.

Everybody has practically talked about the role of the Governors. The Centre has tried to use these Governors for its own purpose, for creating mischief in the States. So, the office of Governor, if it is kept within limits and for the purpose for which it was meant, is useful and one should not be done away with it", he said.

All India Services

To my mind, the All-India Services have performed a very useful role in providing good, equitable and uniform administration in the various States and this was required when we won our independence. But what has really happened is that with the same party having been in power at the Centre for a long time, a large number of bureaucrats now feel

that their first loyalty is to the Centre and not to the States where they are serving. This again is a misuse of the All India Services. While they are serving in a State, their total loyalty has to be to the State only. Also, the interference by the Centre by way of going to the district officers and dealing with them directly and not through the State Government is a reprehensible step and it must be avoided because it can only cause misunderstanding and heartburning.

"The employment of the Union's paramilitary forces is another thing that I would like to talk about. A situation has developed in this country that instead of there being more cohesiveness and greater peace, there is more violence which is due to poor administration or the people's aspirations not being satisfied. There has been a need for the Central paramilitary forces and from time to time they had to go and work in various States. I feel that using them as a Central pool is a good idea and there is no reason why they should not be used because when they go there, they work in close co-operation with the local police and they are not affected by the local situation and, therefore, they should be able to act more evenhandedly. But within the Central paramilitary forces are people who sometimes commit crimes or act wrongly.

"If these personnel are punished for their wrong-doings or if their conduct is inquired into. Let the local government inquire into their conduct and find out, by an inquiry, as to what had happened. If you don't permit the State Governments to take action against their wrong-doings, you are really going to create an impression that they are not under that State and that they are their own masters. That can lead to a lot of mischief.

Homogenous Relations

It is imperative for the smooth running of the Government of this country as a whole and for the progress of the country that Centre-State relationship should be homogenous with mutual confidence. This is of paramount importance. This can exist and be maintained if the States are given an opportunity to function and develop in accordance with their own genius and if they are given maintained and developed unless the Central government gives them equitable treatment regardless of the party affiliation of the State Government. The present system, as practised now had made the State Governments totally dependent on the Centre financially and economically. This dependence on the Centre cannot lead to efficient and effective administration or enthusiastic participation which is so important for real progress.

High Court Judgement

Continued from page 4

Sub. Collector and others to give instructions to maintain law and order. Anticipating attack on the Sikh community, they were taken from their residences through a special party and accommodated in the Central Prison auditorium till normalcy was restored. Anti-social elements numbering about 438 were arrested and stolen goods worth Rs.4.50 lakhs was recovered. Total normalcy returned to the city only on 4.11.88. All possible steps were taken and it is because of the timely action there was no loss of life. The damage caused has been assessed but no question of payment of compensation by government arisen. A.G.O. No. 913 Public (Law & Order) dated 29.4.1986 was issued granting ex-gratia assistance and relief to victims.

Advocate (Mr) Gandhi's Reply Affidavit

There was a total failure by the State to perform its mandatory duty which would amount to culpable inaction. Even collector has in his report made certain recommendations for payment of compensation. There has been deprivation of fundamental rights and the state is under a constitutional and legal duty to compensate victims.

Maintainability

Mr Justice Kader said that 31 October 1984 was a black day. Unfortunately the law enforcing authorities failed to give protection to the properties. As a result unruly hooligans took the situation under their control, ransacked their building, looted the valuables and set fire to them. The learned Judge dealt in detail on the scope and ambit of Public Interest Litigation, while referring to the State Government's contention that the writ petition was not maintainable as the victims had not chosen to claim compensation. The learned Judge stated "this contention has been repeatedly thrown overboard by the Supreme Court in the several decisions. The members of the Sikh community who have been the target of attack for no fault of theirs, form a microscopic minority and are in a socially disadvantageous position. These socially and economically disadvantaged have neither the time nor the money to indulge in expensive and dilatory forensic process". The public-minded persons or organisations have to be allowed to move the court and act on a general or group interest. The credentials of the petitioners for their bonafides and public interest can hardly be questioned. It is too late in the day for the State Government to raise the plea of non-maintainability of the public interest litigation. He referred to various judgements of the Supreme

Court where judges have pointed out that it is not only the right but also the duty of the court, not only to enforce fundamental rights but also award compensation against the State for violation of these rights.

Police Role Half-hearted

The judge said that the police came to the scene very late and their efforts to quell the riots were half-hearted. The action of the police was lethargic and inefficient. Even according to the affidavit filed by the Deputy Secretary, the situation has been brought under control only on 4.11.1984. There has been a virtual break down of law and order on 31.10.1984 and subsequent days/resulting in large losses to the members of the Sikh community and to a few others in the vicinity.

The maintenance of law and order is the primary duty of the State and under our Constitution it is a State subject and tops the State List. No Government worth the name can abdicate this function and put the life and liberty, the hearth and home of the citizens in jeopardy.

The members of the Sikh community form an integral part of the Indian society; they have every right to settle down in Coimbatore and carry on their profession. They have the Constitutional right to live and they cannot be deprived of their means of livelihood. Their right to property is inviolable. All these Constitutional rights of the Sikhs and a few members of the other communities have been flagrantly infringed by the inaction of the law enforcing authorities.

Quantance Of Compensation

The total amount of compensation recommended by the Collector comes to Rs.33,19,033. The assessment made by the Collector is not challenged. Legally and morally, by all canons of fair-play, by all principles of justice, equity under good conscience, the second respondent State of Tamil Nadu is bound to pay compensation to the victims assessed and recommended by its senior official. Instead, the Government of Tamil Nadu have issued G.O. Ms. No. 913 dated 29.4.1986 awarding ex-gratia payment of a beggarly amount of Rs.750/- to each of the twenty persons affected by the Coimbatore riots, who have, however, refused to receive this payment, if I may pay so, rightly, with a sense of self-respect.

It is a matter of regret that the State of Tamil Nadu, which has failed to carry out its elementary function of

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New Colony Of Drug Empire

By Devidas Warriar

Johnny was writhing in agony. Groaning in abject misery as if a thousand bugs were creeping and crawling under his skin, all over the body. He was frantically trying to get rid of them by scratching over his "battle-scarred" skin with many sores and festering wounds. The imaginary bugs had literally and figuratively got under his skin!

Technically known as "formication" (yes, of course, spelt with an 'm' and indeed not an 'n') Johnny's miserable feeling is commonest among cocaine abusers and frequent amongst amphetamine addicts. And poor Johnny, a nineteen-year-old college student, is a victim of this powerful drug-cocaine.

Suresh was laughing loudly, uncontrollably. The waves of his guffaw pierced to walls of his dirty and illkept room and drew the attention of his hostel-mates. And what a surprising scene awaited them when they peeped into his room. Shivering in fright, Suresh was crouching in a corner. Mortally afraid of his visions. Yes, Suresh has been again at it—ganja.

Eighteen-year-old Kamala took to multiple drug abuse—ganja, amphetamines and alcohol, three years ago. She came from a broken home, unloved and unhappy. An above-average student of pre-degree class Kamala suffered from an inferiority complex because of a not-altogether pretty negroid face crowning a shapely body. She could not therefore resist the amorous advances of a senior college boy who had an eye for her body and cleverly introduced her to the magic world of drugs. The sexual adventure helped promote guilt feelings and she sank deeper and deeper into the abyss of drugs.

Trap Of Drugs

Unlike Kamala, Suresh and Johnny took to drugs rather playfully and more out of curiosity than as a holiday from sorrows. While social and familial insecurity and a sense of physical inadequacy coupled with peer pressure led to Kamala's entry into the world of drugs, Suresh and Johnny succumbed to peer pressure and the easy affluent and irresponsible life granted to them by their wealthy parents.

Johnny's doctor-parents, employed in the Gulf had but little control over or contact with their son staying in the hostel in Kerala and were always under the impression that the boy was doing quite well in his studies. Suresh's mother died when he was still quite young and his engineer-

father and stepmother were away in Africa leaving him in a boarding house.

The parents of both the boys genuinely felt that they were giving everything possible to their children—lots of pocket money, gift articles, ultramodern dresses and so on. Little did they realize that the emotional deprivation, want of in-family communication and appropriate disciplinary interventions could lead to such a catastrophe.

Family Problems

A study of the background of these students confirms once again the scientific psycho-social research findings from elsewhere in the world—that the key to predicting the probability of drug use lies in the family unit. According to these studies, families could be classified into three groups—low, moderate and high risk. The high risk family is the group most likely to use drugs. The study recommends that to prevent drug abuse, the family should be strict in behaviour requirements, strongly religious, have happy family relations and be politically conservative.

A high risk family has been defined as one that consumes alcohol, is permissive with its children, has disrespect for authority, has no religion or has loose affiliations, uses over-the-counter drug freely and is politically liberal. Broken homes, absent or irresponsible parents, failure to give love and affection, lack of discipline, association with other delinquents, absence of socially-approved groups for strengthening the moral fibre (such as institutions for moral and religious teaching, practice and worship) and drug dependence or criminality and absence of moral values in the parents have been described as factors of drug use. These findings have been generally found applicable to the modern Indian context also. High level of literacy and educated unemployment and consequent deep frustration among the youth, the political exploitation of this frustration leading to the promotion of anarchic and illiberal and immoral thinking and behaviour patterns, dissemination of irreligious and amoral philosophies and ideas and allround disrespect for authority are clearly evident among youths. Two decades of the Gulf Money syndrome has afflicted the entire life pattern in a State like Kerala and created socio-moral aberrations with far-reaching evil results. Lumpen criminality has effectively utilized this situation to promote deep

layers of a sub-culture which is not operating in collusion with business and politics.

A random survey some time back in Trivandrum showed that the city has an addict-population of seven thousand youth. This is, of course, apart from the very large number of alcoholics. May be drug addicts are also alcohol-lovers. The number of multiple drug abusers is steadily increasing. Police, psychiatrists and clinical psychologists give an alarming picture of the fast growth of this menace in Kerala.

Obnoxious Liaison

Apart from the small-time drug pedlars (many of whom have turned to this more profitable trade from the hard, difficult and cumbersome illicit liquor business) some medical shops and pharmacists are also reportedly indulging in widespread malpractices. They are mostly dealing in sophisticated drugs like amphetamines, barbiturates and other stimulants and depressants of which there are a dime a dozen. The laxity in over-the-counter regulations has come in quite handy for these dealers and these noxious chemicals are going the rounds in large quantities.

It is now clear that the menace has spread to all parts of Kerala—not only the cities and towns. Police have information that agents and subagents and retailers are active all over the State. University centres, professional colleges and other educational institutions including the many parallel colleges which have mushroomed everywhere are targets of these shady characters.

Ganja, brown-sugar, opium, hashish, cocaine and a variety of other noxious items are in the clandestine market. It has been found that dishonest practices haunt even this illicit business. Mosquito-coil ash is used to adulterate brown-sugar. The junkie doesn't get either his money's worth in weight or quality of the stuff. The one-gram stuff is often divided by the pedlars into five or six packets and each sold as a 'quarter'. Since this business is always done on the sly and in hectic hurry, a proper checking is never possible.

Fighting The Menace

Police efforts have been stepped up during the past thirty months to wipe out the ganja menace. The passage of the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act by Parliament in 1985 was a welcome step in the

right direction. But the unfortunate delay in the issuance of the Notification under the Act has virtually nullified the effect of the Act in preventing ganja cultivation.

Talking to the police, parents, academicians and psychologists, one is left with the firm impression that a multipronged drive is urgent and vital to tackle the Drug Menace, fast enveloping our young nation. Strengthening the

family unit and infamily communication, a massive public education programme about the evil effects of the drug culture, treatment and rehabilitation of those already afflicted and the induction of healthy value systems in society—these should go hand-in-hand with stringent police measures to unearth and destroy the roots of the mafia with its international connections.

Amnesty International Report

Continued from page 6

and West Bengal. In Andhra Pradesh, 11 such deaths were reported in the first nine months of the year, three of them during one week in September alone. In one case, a senior naval officer found seven wounds on the body of one of the victims, T. Muralidharan who the police said had committed suicide in a police station. Amnesty International expressed concern about these deaths but welcomed the state government's decision to hold a judicial inquiry. The outcome of the investigations were not known even at the end of 1986. Amnesty International also expressed concern about the deaths of several Sikhs in police custody in New Delhi. Among them was Daljit Singh who died on 24 January in the custody of the New Delhi police. The police stated that he died of high blood pressure, but Amnesty International received evidence that he died of torture. Suraj Singh died on 13 August in the Gandhi Nagar police station, East Delhi. According to the police he hanged himself in the toilet, but relatives alleged he died of beatings in Shakarpur police station in New Delhi. Amnesty International asked for a judicial inquiry in these cases but was unaware of any being instituted. However, in December a magisterial inquiry found that the death of Dayal Singh in a Delhi police station had been result of torture and recommended that four police officers be charged with murder. In several other such cases police officers were reported to have been charged with murder.

Reports of torture and ill-treatment by the police were received from nearly all Indian states. A number of victims were members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. For example, tribal leader Shankar Yadu Lokhande died in Naranjangaon police station in March, according to the police by hanging, but according to members of the tribe, because of beatings in police cus-

tody. There were also repeated reports that tribal women had been raped by local policemen. In some cases the Central Bureau of Investigation investigated the allegations and was reported to have established that there was evidence of rape. In October the Supreme Court heard the report of a commission it had established which recorded statements by 584 people about rape by police of tribal women in Gurjarat. The commission indicted local police and hospital doctors for covering up evidence of rape. In Jammu and Kashmir political prisoners complained of beatings in various jails, but most reported that torture took place during interrogation in police custody.

In 1986, as in previous years, dozens of people were sentenced to death, mainly for murder. In November the Minister for Home Affairs stated that 35 people had been executed in the three years ending 1985. In April the Indian Supreme Court confirmed a stay of execution for Daya Singh—who had been arrested in 1965 and sentenced to death for murder in 1978. The Supreme Court confirmed a previous ruling made in 1983 that a person sentenced to death may demand commutation as of right if the sentence has not been carried out within two years.

On 22 January three Sikhs—Satwant Singh, Kehar Singh and Balbir Singh—were sentenced to death on charges of murder and conspiracy to murder the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. The trial took place in Delhi's maximum security Tihar Jail. On 3 December the New Delhi High Court dismissed the appeals of the three men who said they would be appealing to the Supreme Court.

Amnesty International wrote to the Prime Minister and other government officials reiterating its proposal for an Amnesty International delegation to visit India to discuss the international protection of human rights as well as its human rights concerns in India.

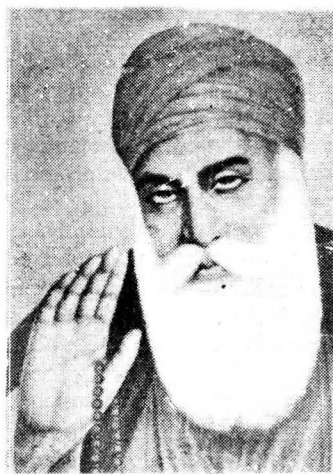
Three Commandments Of Guru Nanak

By G.S. Chadha

Born in 1469 A.D. in an unknown village of Rai-Bho-di-Talwandi, now known as Nankana Sahib (Pakistan), and settled at Kartarpur in the final years of his life, Nanak had to roam about from place to place to deliver his divine message through songs, parables and examples. His message resounded through mountains and valleys, huts and palaces, beyond the jungles and deserts in cultured and civilized regions all over the world. Guru Nanak found that the ills which afflicted mankind emanated from religious anarchy, rigidity of caste system, supremacy of the ecclesiastics and escapism. He set himself to the arduous task of removing the maladies. His mission was one of peace, did not denigrate this or that prophet crusaded against cant, hypocrisies, hideous customs and class distinctions. The Guru organized the society and explained that the purpose of all religions was to discipline the human behaviour and create an atmosphere in which men could live in peace and harmony. Lodi rule knew no peace and corruption and tyranny were the order of the day. The Guru organized the *sangat* and *pangat* to demonstrate equality and fraternity. They performed congregational prayers and chanted hymns in the *sangat*, and the *pangat* was the common kitchen, where his followers shared food together—an exhibition of true spirit of Sikhism. Dr Radhakrishnan was impelled to observe "Guru Nanak tried to build

Guru Nanak believed in simplicity and preached the importance of values in life. In this way he had laid down three noble principles to be followed in day to day life by his followers:

- 1) Meditation of God by repeating His Name,
- 2) Honest work, and
- 3) Distribution of things among the needy each with all, and all with each.



a nation of self-respecting men and women, devoted to God, and their leaders filled with a sense of equality and brotherhood".

Guru Nanak believed in simplicity and preached the importance of values in life. In this way he had laid down three noble principles to be followed in day to day life by his followers. (i) *Nam Ja na* (Meditation of God by repeating His name) (ii) *Dharam di-kirt* (Honest work) and (iii) *Wand chhakna* (Distribution of things among the needy), each with all, and all with each. He wanted to establish a welfare state with socialistic structure. In his ideology birth, race, caste or creed by themselves have no grace. God conduct and righteousness must be the criteria for nobility. No difference should be made between man and man on

these accounts. According to Guru Nanak's philosophy '*Sadh sangat*' (holy congregation) was very essential to understand truth. It is a state of mind which draws together those aspiring to a righteous life and which finds expression in diverse ways. He had stressed for the application of reason in search for truth. His aim was to set man free from bondage of habit. He, therefore, set a pattern which consisted in living the life of a householder, sharing what one had with others and travelling along a path that leads man to his Creator in accordance with the principles of '*sahaj*' (equipoise). '*Kirt Karna*' means honest work, productive work, such as agriculture and crafts and would not mean work that is done in a mercenary spirit. In fact the '*kirt*' should not be confined to crafts or agri-

culture. In the changed conditions this definition has also widened. By production we would not understand only production of foodgrains or goods but all that fulfils a need or is of some benefit. For instance, if a teacher who labours to increase his own knowledge and helps in advancement of learning acts on principles of '*kirt karo*', because he possesses knowledge acquired through effort and has something with which to fulfil the need of others. There is a world of difference between him and the teacher who had studied for the sake of employment and teaches because he is paid for that ...Such a teacher has not acted on the principle of '*kirt karo*'.

If with this concept of work in mind we consider the implication of '*wand chhakna*', we shall find that it is a principle that can change the

climate of our life. This principle of feeding others at one's own cost embodies the healthy, practicable ideal of helping others while we help ourselves, not as a favour but as a recognized obligation. If such an ideal is religiously followed, the world can become a paradise.

Now, the third commandment; "Repeat the Name." In my view this is not to be followed in ritualistic form. This commandment should not be considered separately from others. However, 'repeat the Name' is a command for all. It seems that the purpose of this command is to create in '*gharista*' the disposition that will make all his work a form of worship, and make him feel that not his work only but his standing and sitting, his sleeping and his being awake, his living and dying are for True Creator. The Guru was deadly against all sorts of superstitions and he had tried his best to reform the society.

The central point of a secular religion is its deep humanism. It is through the service of men in sincere love that God has to be approached. For Guru Nanak, Religion was '*Sangat*' and '*Pangat*'. The divide that common humanity on the lines of caste and class was a denial of religion. Wherever the Guru went he had one message: the unity of all religions, and the futility of ceremonial worship. One can face all problems whether economic, social or political if they determine to follow the said three commandments of Guru Nanak.

Humanity: The Religion

By Varghese Chacko

All religions are established or made to improve the moral stature of man. An action accepted to be moral in one religion may not be considered within the moral or ethical codes of another religion and thus many items remain contradictory to each other and the chances of a peaceful co-existence are found to be minimised.

Why do we categorise an individual and undermine or exalt him by taking his religion as a criterion? A person can be an atheist today and believer tomorrow and vice versa for the nature grants him the right to do so.

Let us go back to the history of the major religions of India. Available history says that Hinduism came to India with the advent of Aryans in 1000 BC and the basic doctrines of Hinduism are their product. One should also note that when the Aryans came to India,

the Dravidians were already here as the earlier settlers. These Dravidians did not seem to have any particular religion. They worshipped everything that was more powerful than themselves. It may be noted that Hinduism has not emerged originally as a religion but as a culture. The earliest Arab settlers called the people who lived in the Indus Valley 'Hindus' and the word 'Hindu' originated from here. This was never based on a religion but exclusively on a culture, the Indus Valley Civilization. Thus, is it justified to claim Hinduism as the original or true religion of India? The next major religion is Islam and we know that it is brought to India by the Arabs or Persians. And the third one, Christianity, was originally brought in the first century by one of the disciples of Jesus Christ, Thomas, and subsequently by the European mission-

aries. And the other religions like Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, etc., have their root in Hinduism itself.

I am not trying to exalt or undermine any of the religions, my sole aim is to stress that all religions are man-made and the human relationship that goes beyond the barriers of religion is pre-existing and no man whether poor or rich is to be denied the liberty of accepting or practicing the one he likes or the one he dislikes. Here the individual's free will is to be considered and this in no way would restrict or hamper his social or cultural involvement in the society he lives.

May I ask all the so-called religious minded persons a question? Suppose you have a heart-attack in the middle of the night, will not your neighbour who belongs to another religion or caste come to your aid and take you to hospi-

tal? Often, it is he who is at hand to help you and I have seen many such cases in my life-time. If your own child is drowning in water, will not the passer-by who belongs to another religion or another caste jump into the water and rescue your child or would he jump after confirming the child's religion? I know a number of such cases where people of the same religion hesitated to risk their lives to save someone and the virtuous people of other faiths undertook the job even without any coercion from any quarters.

Dear friend, let your first religion be your human relationship with your neighbours and co-workers whom you see and associate with always. You are free to practice any religion of your choice, but that in no way should diminish the love and respect you are supposed to

render to your fellow human being on the mere pretext that he belongs to another religion.

Religions cannot help a person in his dilemma. He can only be helped by another human being who are near and willing. Then why drag religion into the relationship of persons? It is a proved fact that the one who urges or motivates others to create communal chaos is always safe from the consequent bad results. These cunning leaders are always smart to avoid self-danger and his fans who blindly comply with his orders are often penalised. Let us leave religion alone. Let it have a separate entity which exclusively caters for the spiritual needs of a person. Let us march forward hand-in-hand for a better and prosperous India with the one common religion—humanity.

Written In Blood- Katha Sarit Sagara'

India has a hoary tradition in monumental works based on myths and legends, some of them competing with one another in sheer overpowering romance and ennobling language.

Among the less known in this category is "Katha Sarit Sagara."

K.P.R. PILLAI recounts the evergreen legend surrounding the writing of this massive work

Biggest book of the world. Written with the blood of the author if the legends are to be believed. Seven hundred thousand stanzas, in seven volumes, completed in seven years. Yet, the author himself consigning the first six volumes of six hundred thousand stanzas to a sacrificial pyre! That is the story of Katha Sarit Sagara, originally written by Gunadya. It is probably the most romantic story surrounding a book in the whole literary history of the world.

'Sarit' means a stream or a river. 'Sagara' means an ocean. 'Katha Sarit Sagara' means an ocean created by many streams of stories. Ramayana contains 24,000 stanzas, Mahabharata 1,00,00 stanzas and the one part of Katha Sarit Sagara that has come down to us contains 22,000 stanzas. Only very few Puranas are more voluminous.

Legendary Origin

The ocean of stories has its own legendary story of origin. One day Sree Parvathi asked Lord Siva to tell her a story. The Lord said that as the Devas were always happy and as men were always sorrowful, stories about them will have only one 'rasa' and hence not worth telling. He promised to tell her instead stories about Vidyaharas, Yakshas, Kinnaras and others. He entrusted Nandikeswara to stand guard at the gate and not to allow anyone in while the stories were being told.

When Pushpadanta, one of the servants of Siva came, he was

refused entry. Puzzled, he made himself invisible and entered the room and overheard the talk, with the help of Malyavan, another of Siva's faithfuls. When Parvathi came to know of this deceit, she cursed both to be born on earth as humans.

Accordingly Pushpadanta was born as Vararuchi (Katyana). Malyavan was born as Gunadya. Release from the curse was to be obtained when they met a Yaksha born as a Pisacha on the earth called Kanabhooti; due to a curse of Kubera. Gunadya in due course became a minister of king Saatavahana.

A King's Shame

Saatavahana had many wives and once when they were playing in the river, the senior queen happened to tease him for his ignorance of grammar. The king fell silent and ashamed and his minister found out the secret. Gunadya wanted 12 years to teach the king grammar, while Sarva Varma, another minister bragged that he could do so in six months.

Gunadya promised to forego Sanskrit, Prakrit and the regional language if Sarva Sharma could do this and Sarva Sharma pledged to carry Gunadya's chappals on his head for 12 years. Sarva Sharma was able to teach grammar to the king of the stipulated period with the help of Kumara (Skanda) and Gunadya was left with no known language to express himself. He became silent and went away to Vindhyan forests. He was able to hear Pulindas talking in Paisachi

learnt that language and began writing stories using his own blood.

When Kaanabhooti saw the book he obtained release from his curse. Gunadya sent his work to the king Saatavahana to popularise it. But the king refused to accept the book because it was very voluminous, because it was written in Paisachi, and because it was written with human blood.

A "Grantha Homa"

Dejected by this summary rejection by the king, Gunadya began a terrible yaga in which he consigned to the sacrificial pyre one sheet a day after reading it aloud. Animals of the earth and birds that flew in the sky stopped all movement and stood around Gunadya, watching this strange sacrifice. He consigned to fire 6,700,000 stanzas and then agreed to save the remaining 1,00,000 for posterity.

The king heard of the strange happenings in the forest. He got the remaining portion of the book from Gunadya and promised to popularize it. Gunadya and Var-

aruchi became aware of their previous lives, and left their bodies to return to their celestial homes.

About The Book

Katha Sarit Sagara as said earlier, implies an ocean. It is divided into 18 'lambakas', meaning zones. Each zone is further divided into 'Tarangas' (waves). In all, there are 125 tarangas. It is believed to have been written in first or 2nd century AD. It was summarised into 22,000 stanzas by Som Deva Bhatta of Kashmir, in Sanskrit. Bruhat Katha Manjari of Kshemendra also is an adaptation. Buddha Deva's Bruhat Katha Samgrahan is believed to be another adaptation. It was popular in South India also.

Durvineethar of Kongumandalam in the South rendered a Sanskrit rendering. Konguvel, also of Kongumandalam translated it into Tamil under the title of Perumkathai. In Malayalam there are three translations. An English translation by C.H. Tawney was published in 1880. In Germany, Brokas published it in Roman and

Nagari Script (1839).

The book has inspired various authors. Plots of Kalidasa's 'Meghasandesa' and 'Vikramorvashieya' can be traced to it. Dandi's 'Kavyadarsha' and Bhattas's 'Harshacharita' also drew heavily from Katha Sarit Sagara. "Thousand and one Nights" is believed to have been modelled on it. Vetala Pancha Vaimasari, Tales of Vikramaditya, Nalopakhyaana, Panchatantra, etc. also find a place in this ocean. The language is simple, but the symbols and other flights of fancy of the poet are all Sanskrit based. Some famous lines by later masters find their echoes in Gunadya's poem.

Gunadya, a Mahayana Buddhist, is believed to be of first-second centuries. Somadeva lived in 11th century AD. So the book envelops Indian culture from 1st to 11th centuries. Gods, goddesses, birds, animals, ghosts, vampires, humans and fishes fill Gunadya's colourful canvas. Katha Sarit Sagara undoubtedly marks a milestone in India's splendid literary tradition.

Punjabi Poetry: More Or Less!

By B.S. Rattan

In the last week of October the conference hall of Sapru House was the venue for an evening of Punjabi Poetry arranged by the Punjabi Academy. Among the poets present we had a sample of the old and the young, most of whom have been striving to make themselves heard. To land credibility to the gathering there were established voices like J.S. Neki & Jagtar; and those like Manjeet Indira, Gurbhajan Gill and Masroor, whose verses are often in the periodicals these days, duly completed the contingent. A couple of octogenarians as Barkat Ram Barkat and Munshi Ram Hasrat where there for the old times, sake. There was Jatinder Jolly whose mannerism, more than his verses, proclaimed him a poet. Making a series of optative statements may sound poetic but it is not poetry. Similarly, indulging in hyperbolic eulogies, as the "handpicked" Amir Chand Rangela did, makes for either more, or less, than poetry. Chatter Singh Bir, Charanjeet Singh, Kartar Singh Kanwal, Jiwan Singh Tej, Fariyadi, Nirvain were also there claiming attention in varied ways.

After Manjeet Indira cast a spell on the house with her soulful recitation of poems which were at once forthright and passionate, we had the elderly Jiwan Singh Tej whose humorous mode moved

us equally deeply. The furious rains of 'Asu', that unleashed the floods recently, were the object of his satiric address. His humour has a pathetic side since it is meant not merely to titillate but to awaken sympathetic understanding of the suffering that he makes light of in his lines.

While Tej was content to develop the literal image of the flood, Gurbhajan Gill explored its metaphorical dimensions. His poetic means are often at the service of perceptive analysis of what he feels deeply.

Mere articulation of a deep feeling (real or whipped up) has become a gone vogue in Punjabi Poetry now. Most of what is significant in our poetry today is coming from poets who are trying to think clearly about what they feel deeply, with the help of poetic means, i.e. image, simile, metaphor, rhythm. This tendency was evident among Bachanjit, Jagtar and Masroor along with Manjeet Indira.

Among those who rendered compact couplets (in what is becoming the typical gazal-format in Punjabi, after Surjeet Patar's stern gazals) that we hummed home were Masroor and Jagtar, the latter heavily loaded with Urdu diction.

Tara Singh Kamal compared

the evening with grace and elegance. His easy transitions between raw youth, mature middle, and over-ripe old age, without losing proportion, gave a mellow hue to the event.

HC Judgement

Continued from page 10

enforcing public order should treat the victims of its own lapses as beggars with bowls for alms. It is not charity that is expected of the Government, but legal recompense for wrong done to them, for injuries inflicted on them on account of the breakdown of the Governmental machinery."

Appreciation Of Ms Geetha Ramaseshan

The judge said, "I would like to place on record my deep appreciation of the public spirit and courage displayed by Ms Geetha Ramaseshan in visiting the riot-torn area, making an on-the-spot enquiry and submitting a report to her Association on the basis of which this writ petition has been filed."

Notice

Attested copy of judgement of Justice (Mr) S.A. Kader of Tamil Nadu High Court as well as the copy of Petition and detailed report on the anti-Sikh riots at Coimbatore in November 1984 is available. Desirous persons can procure it on payment of Rs.100/- from the Sikh Forum, 3 Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi 110014. Tel 619284.

ਦਾਸ਼ੀ ਈ ਖੁਸ਼ਮੂਰਤੀ ਈ ਗਜ਼

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From the House of

SIMCO HAIR FIXER

Continued from last issue

Once he said, "It hardly matters that your husband was the same man for I know that whatever be the time and the place for this sweet sin it is you who had beguiled him. Now I know you. You don't have the guts to tread the path of truth. Otherwise you would have mentioned our relations to Clark. You are a petty, puerile, perverted and unworthy woman. Every man who comes in contact with you would, as soon as he gets an opportunity, treat you as Clark treated you and as I did."

"Why are you telling me all this?" asked Pal.

"Because you think that you have taken fancy to me and I think that you are the first man I"

"Now that we have liberated both our bodies and souls from all guises please go ahead and complete your story now."

"We had been staying in that Greek port for about three weeks. The ship had been unloaded and new cargo was being loaded. Suddenly I learnt that outside in the anchorage that ship of the company which Clark had sailed for the first time, was in danger. Water was constantly getting into the engine room, the Captain as well as the crew of the ship had already abandoned the ship. According to international shipping rules the person who salvages a ship in such an hour of peril becomes its sole owner. Clark took a second engineer and a few adventurous sailors with him in a small boat to the ship. Throughout the day these people worked on the ship. Sitting in the port we kept viewing the ship through telescopes. Close to the sunset we saw in the twilight that Clark and his comrades had come over the deck and were dancing out of joy. Holding bottles of wine in their hands, they were busy drinking. Since the deck was lighted we could notice everything clearly through our telescopes. This festivity continued till late into the night. People started congratulating me saying: "Mrs. Clark: Now you are owner of three to four crores of rupees. Your husband is really a very brave sailor. To assume ownership of such a big ship at such a tender age is no mean achievement. That night we kept standing in sailors Club. In the dining room of the Club, they kept proposing toasts to the health and good luck of Clark. Ultimately when we parted after saying 'good night' to each other it was about 2 a.m. Capt. Lawrence, after viewing, through telescope, said: "On board the ship too all have gone to sleep".

Next morning as we woke up we were shocked to find that the fort conquered by Clark had crumbled. While everybody slept, entranced by the joy of victory, the ship sank quietly in the hush of the night."

She rose to her feet all of a sudden. She was stark naked. Yet she walked as if there was none else in the room or as if she were.

fully dressed. After a few minutes, as she returned, she had in her hand two papers which she handed over to Pal.

The first letter was written by Clark's mother to Clark saying that the person whom he considered to be his father was not his father indeed. His real father, Onasus, was a sailor who had died a few months before his birth. The second one was Clark's letters to Lily which read:-

Dear Lily,

Your name should have been butterfly which indeed is a flying flower. Even Lily is not a bad name. You are really a lily flower. I know about your illicit relations with my faster father. Had he been my real father, I would have murdered him. He was not my father. You never even hinted at his misbehaviour(?) Hence I did not choose to kill him with my own hands. You had reconciled with this queer relationship. Then why should I

I knew that once you accompanied me to the ship you would never like to return home. The same thing happened. We have been together for four years. I've never scolded you. How can the man, who has been carrying on with dozens of women even after his lawful wedding, claim to possess as personal property a beautiful woman like you and to sit in judgement over you. As regards your relations with Lawrence, I had a suspicion that was not sufficient.

But yesterday as he showed me my confidential report, I discovered that yours was a bigger contribution towards my advancement. You want me to be a Captain. A captain's wife is the queen of the ship. Well, I'm going to make you not only the queen but also the owner of the big ship, staking my very life. If I succeed.....Even if I fail you have everything you can covet—a posh flat, ample cash, costly jewellery and other valuables, which are not essential for living but are essential for a woman like you. You are worth more than ten lacs in cash and jewellery alone.

It will be decided by the next morning. Tomorrow you will be either a rich widow or the wife of a ship owner. For the sake of beautiful women, people have hews hills and caused streams of milk flow or knocked about in the deserts. I, too, should learn to deal with beauty.

Yours,

Albert

Note: Onasus is the grand child of a sailor and son of a sailor. Make Onasus captain of a ship. All that I have is his. You too are an heir but only to the extent of being Onasus's mother. As regards our relationship, it has been, as you well know, a mere myth. As long as this myth remains unexploded it is good for us.

'Goodbye'. One thing more. If I happen to return alive you may

CURSE

By Balraj Verma



ignore this letter. I, too, will never mention it. After all I've wedded a beautiful woman. I must learn to deal with beauty."

"You.....exclaimed Pal".

"I told you before hand that I'm not worthy of you."

"For every man who is fond of beauty you are a Godsent bounty. You are very beautiful. I am, however, unable to help you fulfill the promise sought from you in this

letter. If I own Onasus I would like to raise him according to my ideals. You can hold out a false promise to a living man but not to a martyr like Clark."

"I knew that after listening to my story you—a man like you....." She broke down.

Pal did not console her. Holding her in his arm he sat quietly. At last when she slept, he got up. He

pocketed both the letters, dressed himself and went out.

Next day, handing over Pal's letter to Mrs. Albert, James said, "This letter need not be acknowledged." The letter read.:

"Dear Lily!

You are very beautiful. This beauty, which is a divine gift, has become a curse for you. Both the letters I have burnt for, I think, it was difficult for you to live on, carrying their burden on your mind. Tomorrow I shall be coming to Captain's Cabin as usual to eat 'Pakoras'. You must come. Not in mourning dress but in pure white sari which is spotless and can assure me that you too have thrown the big burden off your mind. Yesterday you were with me, in my power and I..... but I remembered your bastard father-in-law's remark that every woman who before marriage.....for you are a virgin—a chaste soul.

If taking this letter as my proposal, you come we shall be united till death makes you a widow or I become a widower. Remember sweetheart that a man who can resist marriage for 40 years can stay single throughout his life."

Yours,

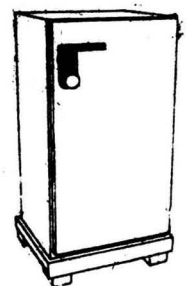
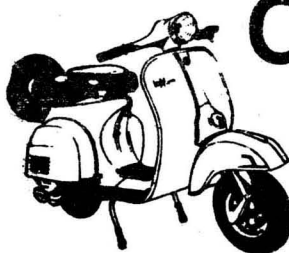
Joginder

Next day he kept sitting in Captain's Cabin till it closed down. She did not turn up.

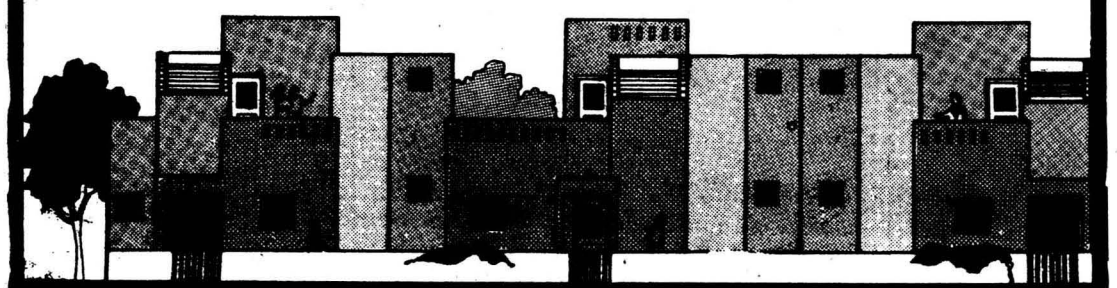
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Why We Finish Last?



P.T. Usha

By I. Gupta

Most of us Indians whose sporting interests probably did not transcend the boundary of a cricket score have been heard castigating our sportsmen after India's dismal showing at Seoul. What these sports enthusiasts are unaware of is what is wrong with Indian sports. Infact, the question should rightly read as what is right with Indian sports?

From inadequate facilities to political interference and not to speak of the general anathema to sporting career, we have it all. Yet after every sporting debacle, atleast as far as India is concerned, it is the hapless athlete who is made the scapegoat.

Today the clout of the politician is so great that sports is probably one sector other than politics itself. Here one finds more politicians than needed. Such people, ever on the look out for some free publicity, wield their political influence to secure themselves and their sycophants a prestigious spot in sporting bodies. Resultant, we have people who have neither the right inclination nor the desired motivation enjoying nodal posts that ought to belong to an able administrator or to a person with the needed technical know-how. This is a part from the siphoning of the much needed money into the pockets of such undesirable elements. And while on wastage of money and funds, our esteemed officials also do not lag behind our present day Chanakyasin making the most of

public money. A case in point is that the delegation to Seoul had 30 officials and only 53 sportsmen. One official for less than two athletes! If this is not wastage, what is it?

It would be incorrect to say the government has not doled out enough funds for the desired results. The infrastructure is there. Yet the results are not forthcoming. Is it because years of foreign dominance has crushed our will to emerge victorious?

What may be the cause for this failure is that the funds have been used with the objective to gain instant results. Funds ought to be spent to provide for methodical support, instead of providing only for those who have already achieved a certain surmounting hurdles. True targets should be set with long term planning. But that decision will only bear fruit when our experts decide whether we are going to go the Russian way or follow the capitalists. If we opt for socialist style, we have to accept sports as an industry. It is high time we decided. But it is a mixed policy we intend to pursue, we have to be doubly cautious for we definitely cannot go the way of our economy.

Again one of our crucial drawbacks is the pseudo professional stand of everyone concerned, including our sportsmen. This is especially evident in team sports like football and hockey, when the players display their professionalism only while playing for their clubs and not while playing donning colours for the country. One cannot totally blame them for such an attitude. After all while playing for their clubs they earn not only their bread and butter but also the adulation which any sportsman badly requires to spur him to perform better.

The media, which so self-righteously lambastes one for his poor showing, fails to sympathise with him when he needs it most. While glamour sports like cricket and tennis hog centre stage, less popular sports are relegated to non-descript columns, resulting in two pronged stabbing. A winner is given all the mass adulation and more so due to undue media coverage. Thus ensuring that sponsoring bodies in their attempt to identify with the masses pour their money on the winning proposition only.

Adulation, and that too of the wrong kind, is probably one of the reasons for the sorry state of affairs. Our sportspersons and more so their coaches, basking in reflected glory, after achieving a certain degree of success tend to become complacent. Thus our golden girl, P T Usha, has been turned into a 'pity' Usha. The lack of consideration shown and the manner in which she has been exploited by her coach Nambiar is a case in point. Instead of spurring Usha to improve her high knee action and hurdling technique after her Los Angeles performance, Nambiar has over-exposed her to the Asian circuit. Though she has won medals by dozen at the Asian level, her Los Angeles timing remained her best.

Though the government has provided the necessary financial requisite, yet the grants may not prove to be enough. Grants as high as Rs 2.5 lakhs has been allotted for a single infrastructure. But nothing seems to have been achieved. Only the major cities have anything like world class stadia. While we make such a hue and cry over the three astro turfs, we have procured donation as small as Netherlands boasts of 300.

While investments are on to elevate sports at the international level, very little has been done for betterment at the grassroot level. Even though our bureaucrats claim the contrary, more than 90 percent of primary schools still happen to be without proper play grounds. Our colleges and universities are also not in a better shape. Even at the university level athletes have to go without world class equipments. Thus despite the athlete's best efforts, his toil do not bear fruit.


As in all aspects of Indian life, corruption has eaten into the core of our sporting fraternity. Administrators and officials stoop to such a demeaning extent that prior to the Seoul Olympics the respectable officers of the IOA were seen vying with one another for the free kits being distributed by the Bata-Power people.

The slipshod attitude of our administrators is evident in the manner they treat our athletes and their endeavours to make the most of the available chances. This is evident in the way they bungled our women's relay quartet chances

of a possible medal hunt. Instead of letting the girls getting the maximum of training together, Ashwini Nachappa and Vandana Rao were packed off to Germany, resulting in loss of practice of over 44 days to acclimatise themselves.

When Margaret Alva was imposing her 'Guidelines' on sports associations and even on sportspersons, we all thought that at last the renaissance of Indian sports had dawned. What happened then? Because of our sportsman spirit, we do not regret the failure of her policies.

But whatever the drawbacks, wherever the drawbacks, it is time for reckoning. If India wants to find herself on the victory podium, it is high time we stopped looking for solace in the importance of participating like the ever graceful loser. But instead tackled the problems on a war footing and stop rendering lip-service.



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When Mrs Margaret Alva was imposing her 'Guidelines' on sports associations and even on sportspersons, we all thought that at last the renaissance of Indian sports had dawned. What happened then is our worst showdown at Seoul

Sidhu-Sherri-Sidhu

By Navin Chand



and talent. His father Bhagwant Singh, a former Advocate General of Punjab, inspired him to keep working hard and to work his way up the ladder. Being a top personality, Bhagwant Singh knew about the requisites of a man trying to reach the top. Together with veteran cricketer and friend Baba Ram Kishan, he planned the future of his son by laying a special concrete pitch at the Baradari Gardens at Patiala. He also spent a huge amount on cricket coaches, bringing them to Patiala to train his son. Apart from coaches like E.B. Aibara and A.C. Ram Singh, national coach Gurcharan Singh also gave him lessons. One of Gurcharan Singh's advice was to cut out the square cut and hook early in the innings.

Just before the Reliance cup in October-87, Sidhu emerged as a hard hitter of the ball in the Deod-

missed the series against West Indies immediately after the Reliance cup.

Sidhu, or Sherri as he is fondly called by his friends, came out of injury for the Champions Trophy in Sharjah and Asia Cup in Bangladesh. He was immense success in the two championships, hitting three half-centuries in Asia Cup to win the Man-of-the-Final as well as the Man-of-the Series awards.

By hitting a century in the first Test against New Zealand, he has proved the point that he is useful in both instant and longer duration games.

Strength To Strength

Born on October 20, 1963, Sidhu made his initial mark in Punjab Junior cricket and even excelled at zone level being adjudged the best junior sportsman by the Delhi Sports Journalists Association.

In Cooch Behar Trophy of 80-81, Sidhu showed his ability to go for a long innings when he scored a century against East Zone at Rohtak. This knock helped him pick up for the Indian Schools team that toured England in 1981 under Ravi Shastri. There were four Sikhs in that touring side—Maninder, Gursharan, Sidhu and Raju Sethi.

Tours abroad prove immensely useful for young cricketers.

because they get chances to grasp the finer points of the game at an age when it is easier for them to do so. This is one obvious reason why the players after touring abroad are easily picked up by their State Associations for Ranji Trophy and other like tournaments.

Sidhu got his Ranji cap for Punjab when he was picked up to play against Services at Amritsar. Opening the innings on his first-class debut, he scored a fine 51 runs. Since then, he has gone from strength to strength. Alas, his father is not alive to see his eye-catching performances.

—N.C.

Navjot Singh Sidhu In Test Cricket

(Latest By The Second Test Against New Zealand)

Against	Tests	Innings	NO	Runs	HS	Ave	100	50
W.I.	2	3	0	33	20	13.00	0	0
N.Z.	2	4	1	179	115	36.35	1	0
	44	7	1	212	115	31.35	1	0

When Clive Lloyd's Caribbean team was on tour of India in October-83, two unknown players of the North Zone caught the attention. One was Navjot Singh Sidhu, who became the first Indian batsman to take a century against that West Indian team's pace attack of Roberts, Davis and Daniel. The other was Chetan Sharma, who demonstrated his pace and potential by clean-bowling G. Greenidge and Viv. Richards in his opening spell.

Both Sidhu and Sharma were immediately called for the national team as partners to two superstars—former to Gavaskar and latter to Kapil Dev.

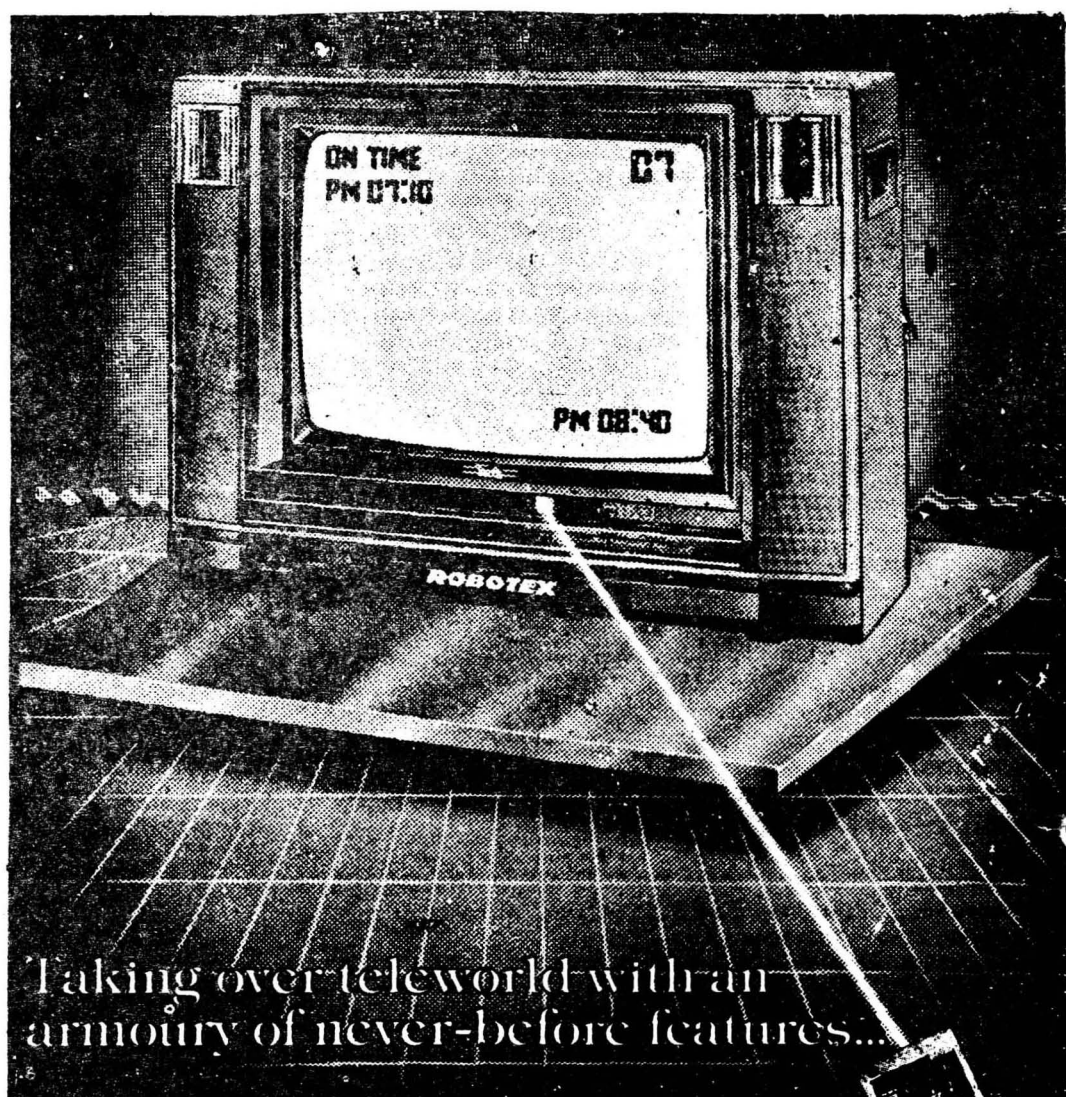
However, Navjot was considered quite lucky to be in the Test team barely at the age of 20 since he had only played 13 innings in the first class before going out to open Indian innings alongside Gavaskar in the newly built stadium of Ahmedabad. It was hardly a debut to remember. Run out in the first innings taught him the importance of good running between the wickets. In the three innings of the two Tests against West Indies, he could muster only 39 runs @ 13.00 and was out of the contention. He was regarded as a strokeless player.

Sidhu knew that the score card was not a true index of his calibre

har Trophy, scoring 73 not out and 69 off 75 balls in semi-finals and final respectively. Around this time, it looked certain that Sidhu will make a comeback to the national team atleast for the limited-overs games. But whom could he replace in the Indian team which had stars like Gavaskar, Srikanth, Mohinder, Vengsarkar, Azharuddin as the first five batsmen?

The answer came in the "Drought Relief Indo-Pak Reliance cup inaugural match" on September 30. He came in at number three slot and immediately took charge of the affairs against Imran's attack in a most competent and assuring manner. Now nothing could stop him from making it to the national team for the Reliance Cup. He replaced Mohinder Amarnath at the number three slot.

In the very first match of the Reliance cup, he top-scored 73 runs for India. In the words of rival Australian captain—"It was absolutely brilliant. His departure was the turning point of the game." Sidhu followed the same in the next match against New Zealand by again top-scoring. His explosive 75 included four towering 'sixes. He kept the good going with scores of 51, 55 and 22 in the matches that followed. Unfortunately, he fell ill during the cup and could not play in the last two important matches. He also



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